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The Medieval Library at Bryn Mawr*

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THIS afternoon I am going to tell you about a new tool for scholarship, the Marjorie Walter Goodhart Medieval Library at Bryn Mawr. This is a collection of some 930 incunabula which my father brought together and which some of you may have seen in his library. During his lifetime he gave about 600 of the books to Bryn Mawr, and that part of the collection had a formal opening last spring. The rest went to the college after he died and has not yet been catalogued.

There are many reasons why people collect incunabula: sometimes because of an interest in certain printers or in the printing in certain cities; sometimes because of particular languages or particular subjects, such as travel or romance. My father collected his books because he was interested in the development of thought and education throughout the Middle Ages. The library represents the branches of the medieval educational system, which were called the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, both leading up to the supreme science: theology. The *trivium* consisted of grammar, rhetoric, which in the Middle Ages covered the study of law, and dia-

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 25, 1952.

lectic, which included the study of philosophy. The *quadrivium* consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. All these subjects are well represented in the library; so is medicine, which was studied in the Middle Ages along with the other sciences. My father never collected medical incunabula with the same vigor as he did the other books, because there are already three famous collections of medical incunabula in this country.

Before I go any further, I think I should define what our understanding is of a "medieval" library. Many authors like Henry Osborn Taylor feel that the Middle Ages end with Dante; I shall follow Chevalier and the contributors to *The Cambridge Medieval History* and assume that the Middle Ages continued to the year 1500 and take in all the early part of the Renaissance. The library was built up on this assumption, and I shall be able to show you that many subjects in it were of continuous interest over some fifteen hundred years.

There is one aspect of a library like this that I think particularly worth-while to keep in mind. When the books were established at Bryn Mawr, the head of the Latin department, Miss Lily Ross Taylor, whose courses had a great deal to do with inspiring the collection, made a telling observation about it. She said that to her one of the collection's most interesting aspects was that these were the books that the generation which first had printing wished to disseminate. For that reason, you will find that some authors, like the Church Fathers or the medieval and Renaissance chroniclers are very well represented, while other great names in the Middle Ages are not represented at all. Apparently the men of the late fifteenth century were not interested in the writings of Alcuin and his followers, and Abelard, one of the most famous minds of the twelfth century, was not printed in the fifteenth century at all.

In order to give you an idea of the collection, I shall follow the medieval course of study and start with the *trivium*. Grammar and literature were studied in the Middle Ages from the texts of

such classical authors as continued to be known and preserved. The collection contains many of the texts listed in Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Mediaeval Mind*¹ as being in constant use: the works of Priscian, two editions of the *De nuptiis* of Martianus Capella, and the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. There are a fair number of classical writers and medieval commentators and historians. Apollonius Rhodius, Aulus Gellius, Diogenes Laertius, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys of Crete gave the men of the Middle Ages many of their ideas, garbled though they were, of ancient history and legend. Perhaps those of you who knew the collection when my father had it will wonder why the Medieval Library at Bryn Mawr has only a few classical texts—Homer, Josephus, Valerius Maximus, and Virgil—when my father had so many. The reason is that he had been giving the classical texts and the writings of the early fifteenth century to me ever since I was a student of the classics at Bryn Mawr, to help me to form a humanist library. This leaves a sad gap in the Medieval Library as an example of the learning of the Middle Ages, but the gap most easily filled with modern texts. The collection goes on with poets, historians and essayists of the late Roman empire: the poets Ausonius and Claudian, the allegorist Fulgentius, and the historians Cassiodorus, Herodian, and Orosius. Most important for the thinking of all the centuries following him are the works of the last great writer of the Roman Empire, Boethius.

Since grammar and pure literature did not flourish very vigorously in the so-called Dark Ages, they are represented only by the grammar of Probus and the great eleventh-century Greek dictionary of Suidas, which Karl Krumbacher² calls a most important monument of learning, the sole preserver of countless literary items that would otherwise be lost. From there, we can skip to the great Italian authors of the fourteenth century: Dante,

¹ (London, Macmillan and Co., 1930), 4th ed., I, 300.

² *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, C. H. Beck'sche, 1897), 2nd ed., pp. 562-570.

Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Dante is represented by the *Divine Comedy* and the *Convivio*; Petrarch by his collected works, both in Latin and Italian, by the *Canzoniere*, and by his delightful letters. Boccaccio, except for a small volume containing one letter in Italian, is represented only by his Latin works.

The collection is well stocked with literary and grammatical works of the fifteenth century, though none of them compare in quality with the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century was a period when the interest in classical texts, in historical accuracy, and in literary style, no matter what the content, was of great importance, and the collection mirrors that. Among the chronicles are Gaguin's *History of France*, Sabellicus' *History of Venice*, Pomponius Laetus' *History of Rome*, and nine editions of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum*. There are also original works of literature: the epigrams of Hieronymus Balbus and the poems in Italian of Feo Belcari. Most strongly represented are the commentators on classical authors: Barbaro's commentary on Pliny, Calderino's on Martial, and Merula's on Juvenal, as well as his edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*. There are books by the famous transmitters of Greek learning, Theodore Gaza and Constantinus Lascaris; there are Urbano Bolzani's Greek grammar, the first in the West in centuries, and several of the works of the great Marsilio Ficino, the head of the Florentine Academy who translated all the writings of Plato for Lorenzo dei Medici.

In addition to all these literary productions, there are in the collection some fifty-five tracts on literary, historical, and religious subjects and eighty-eight sermons, funeral orations, political speeches, and papal bulls. These seldom have much literary interest except as examples of Renaissance imitations of Roman rhetoric, but they are full of historical data and, read in quantity, they give a picture of the problems and enthusiasms of the time. My father collected them because he believed that they would be useful in a college library for graduate studies, all the more so

since most of them have never been reprinted and are available only in the form in which they first appeared.

The law books at Bryn Mawr form a very neat and complete unit. This subject, Hastings Rashdall³ says, was studied, especially in Italy, even in the darkest of dark ages, as part of the second branch of the *trivium*, rhetoric, and came to be the most absorbing interest in the fifteenth century. Everything that is truly important is in the collection, and unlike the literary and theological sections, the legal section has no works without merit. The library contains two editions of the greatest compilation of Roman law: the *Codex Justinianus*, which was first compiled in Byzantium in 529. It also contains three editions of the *Institutiones*, compiled in 533 by order of Justinian to further the teaching of law. In addition to these monuments of Roman law, the collection contains the greatest medieval works of civil law, the commentaries or glosses on Justinian's *Codex* and *Digest* by Bartolo de Sassoferato.

In the realm of canon law, the collection is even more complete. There is the twelfth century *Liber decretorum* of Bishop Ivo of Chartres. It is well worth having because it represents the attempts made to assemble the laws of the Church before the great work of Gratian at Bologna in the thirteenth century. Gratian's *Decretum* sifted all the authorities accepted by the Church and systematized their rulings, and although it was never itself formally approved as the law of the Church, it was incorporated in the *Decretales*, issued in five books by Gregory IX, in 1234. The library contains three editions of the *Decretales* and one of the gloss on them by Bernard of Parma. It further contains five editions of the sixth book of *Decretales*, added in 1298 by Boniface VIII, and a gloss on the first five books by the great fifteenth-century canonist, Nicolaus de Tudeschis of Palermo.

The studies undertaken in the third branch of the *trivium*, dialectic, show the greatest change of point of view through the cen-

³ *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, University Press, 1936), VI, 577.

turies. The Medieval Library contains a good many of the works upon which the philosophical thinking of the Middle Ages was based. The chief figure in the transmittal of ancient philosophical thought to the Middle Ages was Boethius, and the library contains two editions of his most important book, the *De consolazione philosophiae*, as well as his works on educational methods and on the Trinity. The church fathers, who preceded Boethius, were like him vastly influenced by Plato and also by the Neo-Platonists: Plotinus, Hermes Trismegistus, and Jamblicus. These four all appear in the collection. The Venerable Bede in the eighth century carried on the tradition of philosophical knowledge by his repertory of the authorities of Aristotle and other philosophers. This is the kind of book, a collection of snippets and quotations, through which the educators and theologians from 500 to 1300 A.D. learned of the thought of the ancient world. It was largely through the Arabic translations of Aristotle that he filtered back into Europe in the thirteenth century, brought in from the East after the crusades and from Spain. The commentaries on his newly discovered works by Aegidius Romanus, Walter Burley, and Duns Scotus in the fourteenth century and by Gaietanus de Thienis and by the learned Hebraic scholar, Petrus Niger, in the fifteenth century show the fascination that he exerted and the immediate and intimate relationship that his methods developed with theology. The close involvement of the great churchmen of the thirteenth century with the study of Aristotle greatly overshadowed the study of Plato, who had so inspired the Fathers of the Church, but in the late fifteenth century we find the study of Plato vigorously revived in the West by the newly arrived scholars from Constantinople and by their pupils, Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.

Let us now turn to the *quadrivium*: the medieval course of higher education consisting of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, and the associated science, medicine. There are no

books in the collection dealing with arithmetic proper, but several with geometry. The Euclid is there, in Ratdolt's edition, famous because the geometrical figures were printed instead of being added later by an illuminator. There is the *Sphaera mundi* of John of Holywood, a thirteenth-century Englishman, and also the mathematical treatise of Thomas Bradwardine, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in the fourteenth century. The books on astronomy show very clearly the debt that the Middle Ages owed to Moslem learning. Although there are some classical treatises, the *Poeticon astronomicon* of Hyginus, a very learned man who was Ovid's friend and librarian to Augustus, the *Cosmographia* of Pomponius Mela, and the *De nativitatibus* of Firmicus Maternus, a book on the method of working out calendars, there are also the astrological and astronomical works of Albumasar and Haly son of A-ben-Ragel. These lead to three or four fifteenth-century works on astronomy, the most famous perhaps being the calendar of Johannes Regiomontanus, who composed and printed it, although the Bryn Mawr copy is a later edition by Ratdolt.

The Arabs also stand out clearly among the medical authors. These works begin with the third century B.C. treatise on plants by Theophrastus and would skip to the thirteenth century but for the ninth-century Syrian doctors, the Serapions and John Mesue. The later doctors of medicine and natural science, Arnold of Villa Nova in the thirteenth century, Peter of Abano, and Pico della Mirandola in the fifteenth, were suspect and had great trouble because of repeated accusations of heresy, but in spite of that there seems to have been a blossoming of interest in medical books in the fifteenth century, as indicated by the printing of the earlier works and by the books of Antonius Cermisonus and his pupil Michael Savonarola, a famous physician and uncle of the still more famous friar.

I can find only one book in the collection belonging to the last branch of the *quadrivium*: music. That is the *Practica musicae*, writ-

ten in the fifteenth century by Franchinus Gafurius. The copy at Bryn Mawr is of the first edition, printed in Milan in 1496, and it belonged for many years to Fritz Kreisler.

Now I come to the subject for which the *trivium* and *quadrivium* prepared the student, theology. The Medieval Library has as many books of theology as of all other subjects together. That is not because the theological works were collected deliberately, as if for a seminary, but because theology was the most important subject in the minds of thoughtful men and their thinking and writing was oriented toward the City of God for over a thousand years. The theological works are so many and so varied that I shall not attempt to describe them, but I shall try to show merely that the great men of nearly every century are represented. This shows the wide range of theological interest in the fifteenth century. First of all the library contains six Bibles, two psalters, and a considerable variety of missals, as well as four Hebrew incunabula, all on religious subjects. The texts of the Fathers of the Church extend right back to the earliest on record. The early Greek Church is represented by Origen, who was suspected of the Arian heresy, and by Athanasius, its greatest opponent. There are several copies of Eusebius' history of the early Church and of St. John Chrysostom's *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John* and other lesser works. All these are in Latin translations, mostly newly made in the fifteenth century, but that of Eusebius' *Chronicon* was made by St. Jerome. The early apologists of the Roman Church are represented too: the Africans, Tertullian and St. Cyprian, and Lactantius of Gaul. The works of all the Fathers of the Roman Church are on hand in considerable quantity: St. Ambrose with three works; St. Jerome with five, each in some five editions; St. Augustine, the real keystone of the interpretation of Christian thought in the West, with six works; and St. Gregory the Great with five. St. Jerome and St. Augustine are supported by their disciples, Tyrannius Rufinus and Paulus Orosius; Orosius' history of the world was conceived as a purely factual treatise in sup-

port of St. Augustine's contention that it was not Christianity that had brought the Roman Empire to its ruin. The greatest figure in Christian thought of the sixth century, beside Gregory and the founder of the monastic rule, St. Benedict of Nursia, was Cassiodorus, and his *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* is in the collection in three editions. To the early church also belong the works falsely ascribed to Dionysus the Areopagite, which had a tremendous influence on later writers. From the sixth century there is a great gap until the eleventh, which is brilliantly lighted by the works of St. Anselm, the Italian who was educated in Normandy and became Archbishop of Canterbury. The twelfth century was a period of great vigor in theological writing of many kinds, and some of the greatest authors are generously represented in the collection. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose movement of monastic reform tremendously influenced the next four centuries, is represented by seven of his works, some in several editions; the library contains his sermons, his meditations, and especially his letters, which give so much evidence of his persuasiveness and driving force. He stands, perhaps, for the mystical side of theology in the twelfth century, as does Hugo of St. Victor. Peter Lombard, who was just as influential in his way, represents the more scholarly and methodical side; his book of *Sentences* is a clear arrangement of the opinions of the Church Fathers on all sorts of religious subjects. It became the standard textbook of theology in the later Middle Ages and was copiously imitated and commented on in later centuries. The collection contains the commentary of Richard Middleton, a thirteenth-century English Franciscan, and of the fifteenth-century French Franciscan, Vorriolog.

The thirteenth century was the age of the flowering of what we call medieval thought. It was the period when traditional theological thought was illuminated by the newly translated philosophical and scientific works of Aristotle. We find that some of the writers of this period belong to the old tradition. They base

their theology on the Church Fathers' interpretation of Plato and carry their theses to a symbolistic and mystical rather than a quasi-scientific conclusion. To this first group belongs the great Franciscan, St. Bonaventura, who was born in Italy, taught at the University of Paris, and ended by being Archbishop of York. To it belongs also Guilielmus Durandus, who in his *Rationale* allegorized every part of the church service and the church architecture. In this kind of theological literature we find also Alanus de Insulis and the Spanish missionary and martyr, Raymundus Lullus, and the *Imitatio Christi*, which is ascribed to several different authors and of which the Medieval Library has six editions. Perhaps these books should be called the "literature of adoration." There is also factual religious literature of the kind we read in Voragine's *Golden Legend*, a delightful account of the lives of all the saints of the Roman Church, full of local customs and unintentional humor.

The scientifically theological authors of the thirteenth century are the authors of the *Summae*. These are complete systematizations of theological thought, based upon the fullest knowledge of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, and of the works of Aristotle. The first was written by the Franciscan, Alexander of Ales, in Paris. A little later there came to Paris from Germany the Dominican, Albertus Magnus. His greatest achievement was his extended commentary on all the works of Aristotle, which he said he wanted to make "all . . . intelligible to the Latins."⁴ These commentaries are not in the Medieval Library, but his later theological works are, and in them he used the same methods.

The greatest of the systematic theologians was Albertus' pupil, St. Thomas Aquinas. His manifold works were in themselves a system and have founded a philosophical school within the Catholic Church. He had a solution in his system for every problem of Catholic thought, and in the Medieval Library his works are

⁴ *The Mediaeval Mind*, II, 450.

so various that all his thinking is represented except for his technical commentaries on Aristotle.

The fourteenth century is again divided between a kind of critical theological writing, of which the most influential was the work of William of Ockham, and writing about the miraculous, represented by the Swedish St. Birgitta and the Sienese St. Catharine. Ockham is said by Taylor to have made "the breach in the old scholastic, Thomist unity . . . irreparable. Theology stands on the surest of bases, but isolated, unsupported; philosophy, all human knowledge is discredited because irrelevant to the highest truth."⁵

Perhaps it is because of this breakdown of theological thought that in the fifteenth century it seems so comparatively weak, although knowledge of earlier theology was more widespread than ever through the use of printing. The greatest figures are the violent, fiery, reforming preachers, Savonarola and Bernardinus of Siena. Bernardinus was canonized almost immediately after his death; Savonarola was burned at the stake for heresy and has not been forgiven by the Church. To a later student they seem to have been seeking the same things with the same zeal, greater purity of morals and an all-embracing, uncritical faith.

I have tried to give you a picture of the library as indicated by its contents, but there is also a great deal of material in it for the study of early printing as such. Most of the greatest of the early printers are copiously represented: Ratdolt with his technical books, Aldus with his Greek books and his first examples of Italic type, and Nicolas Jenson and the Frenchmen, Gui Marchand and Antoine Vérard, with their beautiful type and spacing. Besides these, there is a multitude of less famous printers from every country in Europe except England. A student of early typography would have a considerable choice of material.

There is material also for the student of fifteenth-century illustration. The most famous books in the collection from that

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 549-550.

standpoint are Columna's *Dream of Poliphilus* and Breydenbach's *Voyage to the Holy Land*, but there are many others. One interesting problem concerns the use of the ornamental printed capital letter. For example: in preparing this account of the library, I found that the large ornamental woodcut for the capital S, decorated with birds and flowers, was identical in Boccaccio's *Genealogiae* printed by Locatellus in Venice in 1494 with the S in the *Epistole* of St. Catharine printed by Aldus in 1500. Does this mean that Aldus bought some woodcuts from earlier printers? This peculiarity is not mentioned by Brunet or by Scholderer in the British Museum Catalogue or by Rénouard in his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*.

I have tried to indicate to you the scope of the Marjorie Walter Goodhart Medieval Library without indulging in tempting but stupefying detail. Perhaps you will say that it is all very far away and long ago. That is true, but I believe that an understanding of earlier men's attempts to understand themselves can but increase our wisdom.

Fifty Years of *The Virginian**

By N. ORWIN RUSH

IN 1885 Owen Wister was reading Blackstone in a Philadelphia law office, intending to enter Harvard Law School in the autumn of that year. His health broke down, and early in July, 1885, he went to Wyoming at the orders of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell (author of *Hugh Wynne*) to the ranch of some friends. Between this time and the autumn of 1891, he spent five summers in search of health and big game in Wyoming. America lost a promising lawyer and a promising musician as well, for Wister, a short time before, had studied with Ernest Guiraud of the Paris Conservatoire, and had been praised by Franz Liszt, for whom he played his own compositions at Bayreuth. Instead, we gained a literary figure who wrote a book that many critics consider the greatest novel of the West that America has yet produced.

Back in Pennsylvania, Wister was moderately successful as a lawyer, but he "couldn't get Wyoming out of his head." In the fall of 1891 he wrote his first two stories about Wyoming and its people, "Hank's Woman" and "How Lin McLean Went East." *The Virginian*, with its Wyoming setting, was published May 28, 1902. (The author's camp companion, Lin McLean in "Hank's Woman," is now the anonymous Virginian.)

On every one of these first five summers spent in Wyoming, Wister kept a diary which he describes as a "full, faithful, realistic diary: details about pack horses, camps in the mountains, camps in the sagebrush, nights in town, cards with cavalry officers, meals with cowpunchers, roundups, scenery, the Yellowstone Park, trout fishing, hunting with Indians, shooting antelope,

* Adapted from a paper read at the opening of a Wister exhibition at the University of Wyoming Library, Laramie, Wyo., April 25, 1952.

white tail deer, black tail deer, elk, bear, mountain sheep; and missing these same animals. I don't know why I wrote it all down so carefully. I had no purpose in doing so, or any suspicion that it was driving Wyoming into my blood and marrow, and fixing it there."¹

Theodore Roosevelt, like Wister, had gone West for his health. Describing his experiences at his ranch at Medora in North Dakota for the *Century Magazine*, Roosevelt became the pioneer American writer to take the cowboy seriously. But, while Roosevelt wrote factually, he was hoping for someone to interpret the West through works of imagination. Feeling that Wister had that ability, he gave him much encouragement. They had become friends while at Harvard, and what each had to say to the other about the bold horseman of the plains strengthened this friendship.

In a letter to Wister dated April 20, 1894, Roosevelt said, "You know perfectly well that I read all your western articles, and that I can quite sincerely say that they rank with Bret Harte's and Kipling's pieces. I have long been praying to have somebody arise and write articles of that kind."² John Jay Chapman also wrote: "Your story in the current 'Harper's' is A-1. I read it with all my prejudice against you. Against the west. Against 'Harpers Magazine,' and against short stories—in full blast. It is frightfully well done . . . it has a quality that is common to real life and great fiction. . . ."³ (Chapman was referring to *The Game and the Nation*, which became a part of *The Virginian*.)

The Virginian was Wister's first really successful book. He tells us that his earnings from the six preceding books might possibly have bought hay enough to keep one horse alive, but certainly not a pair.⁴ With *The Virginian*, affairs took another turn; it suddenly

¹ Owen Wister. *Roosevelt, The Story of a Friendship* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

⁴ *The Virginian*. New uniform ed. 1928. p. ix.

created the popular taste which has demanded Western stories ever since. However, this was the last real Western book that Wister was to write. His publishers tried to persuade him to write another *Virginian* or cowboy novel, but Wister managed to give them some satisfactory excuse.⁵

The Virginian was a "best seller" for at least six months. Beverly Stark, reviewing the book in 1902 in the *Bookman* says, "*The Virginian* is a strong and vigorous novel." In this same issue the department "Chronicle and Comment" remarked, "With his recently published *The Virginian*, Mr. Wister has driven into the soil of Wyoming a stake which seems likely to remain for a long time to come. It is not our intention here to comment upon his book beyond saying without hesitation that it is unquestionably the novel of the summer."⁶

A dramatization of *The Virginian* opened on Broadway at the Manhattan Theatre January 5, 1904, with Dustin Farnum in the title rôle, in a four-act version done by Wister in collaboration with the producer, Kirke La Shelle. The third act was entirely Wister's. It went on the road for ten years, and was periodically played by stock companies. Farnum also appeared in a silent moving-picture version; so did Kenneth Harlan. Gary Cooper was the hero of a talking film in 1929 and in 1946 the *Virginian* was reincarnated again in the person of Joel McCrea.

The book has been issued in many editions and printings. During the first eight months it had been reprinted fifteen times; by January, 1911, it had been reprinted thirty-eight times. Even as late as the year from May 1928 to May 1929 it sold 33,986 copies. In Germany it appeared serially in a Frankfurt newspaper. It ran as a serial in the *Golden Book* from June 1927 to January 1928, and ten years later the *Kansas City Star* again serialized the story, the last installment appearing in the December 12, 1938, issue. By 1938, one and one-half million copies had been sold,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Bookman*, 15 (1902), 513.

FIFTY YEARS
OF
THE VIRGINIAN



1902-1952

Laramie
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1952

one of the very few American novels up to that time to go beyond the million mark.

Last year the novel was selected by the Grolier Club in New York for its exhibit of outstanding books published in the English language during the first half of the century, and a new edition has recently been issued by the Limited Editions Club with an introduction by Struthers Burt.

The Virginian was written between 1891 and 1902. Episodes already published made up about half of the book. It is known that a portion of the manuscript is composed of page proofs from the magazine stories pasted on sheets of paper, with a number of changes and additions in Wister's handwriting.⁷ The final chapter in the book was planned while Wister was hunting mountain sheep in the Tetons in 1896 and appeared as a story in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title "With Malice Aforethought." The book itself was finally completed in Charleston, South Carolina, during January, February, and March of 1902.

On June 7, 1902, Roosevelt wrote to Wister, "I did not think it would be possible for you to combine those short stories into a novel without loss of charm and power. Yet I think you have greatly increased both their charm and their power as you have made the combination. It is a remarkable novel . . . I do not know when I have read in any book, new or old, a better chapter than *Superstition Trail* . . ."⁸

Many persons have wondered about the title of the book, and why Wister had given the *Virginian* no name. It was pure accident at first. In at least two of the stories which go to make up the book ("Balaam and Pedro," and "Em'ly") the cowboy in the story was merely an auxiliary character. After these stories, Wister tells us, the *Virginian* continued anonymous through habit until Wister envisaged a complete novel, and, after a great deal of casting about for a name, decided to let it go.

⁷ The manuscript of chapters 30-32 and part of chapter 33 is in the University of Wyoming Library.

⁸ Wister, *Roosevelt*, pp. 105-106.

Much of the plain talk in Wister's original manuscript of Western tales never got by the blue pencils of the editors. However, Wister gives Henry Mills Alden of *Harper's Magazine* credit for being as "liberal as he was for those genteel times."⁹

Practically all of the stories in *The Virginian* that first appeared in magazines differed in some detail when published in the book. For instance, the story of Balaam and Pedro is told in two chapters in the book: "Progress of the Lost Dog" and "Balaam and Pedro," and with several changes from the original published version. Probably the most significant suppressed passage concerns what Balaam did to Shorty's buckskin pony, Pedro. Roosevelt had read the story when it first came out in *Harper's* in April, 1897, and asked Wister how he came to write the sickening details of Pedro's tragedy. Feeling that the incident lessened the effect of the story, he urged Wister, when publishing it in book form, to "throw a veil over what Balaam did to Pedro, leave that to the reader's imagination, and you will greatly strengthen your effect." But the incident Wister had witnessed had made a deep impression on him; "to strike it out would weaken the story," he thought. The gouging out of Pedro's eye, Wister insisted, was a true incident; it had actually happened, and was not an isolated case "but typical of a certain streak of cruelty which belonged to that life."¹⁰

In a letter written to Wister on December 13, 1897 (in answer to Wister's mentioning again their difference of opinion about Balaam and Pedro), Roosevelt writes, "No, I have never changed about the eye incident. It should be done in the same way as Stevenson did the incident of the torture of the squirrel."¹¹ Nine years passed before Wister agreed with Roosevelt and made the change.

In the magazine story the passage is as follows:

The cow puncher was about to advise him to get off, when he saw him lean over Pedro's neck and reach a hand down between his ears. The ranchman's arm and shoulder worked fiercely and twisted, when

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

suddenly Pedro sank motionless, and his head rolled flat on the earth. . . . "No, but I got an eye out on him."

The cowboy heard these words without at first realizing their import; but the horse lifted his head and turned it piteously around, and he saw the ruined eye that Balaam's fingers had blinded.

The book contains this version:

Suddenly he was at work at something. This sight was odd and new to look at. For a few seconds it had no meaning to the Virginian as he watched. Then his mind grasped the horror, too late. Even with his cry of execration and the tiger spring that he gave to stop Balaam, the monstrosity was wrought. Pedro sank motionless, his head rolling flat on the earth. Balaam was jammed beneath him. The man had struggled to his feet before the Virginian reached the spot, and the horse then lifted his head and turned it piteously around."

This particular story was rejected by the *Atlantic Monthly*. It was accepted by William Dean Howells, editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, but rejected by his successor before it could be printed. *Harper's* printed it in January, 1894, using two familiar lines from the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* as an epigraph:

He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.

In the dedication of *The Virginian* to Theodore Roosevelt, Wister refers to the change made in this particular story when he says that "one [page] stands new-written because you blamed it."

There have been many claims regarding the identity of the Virginian. Wister says in his preface to the first edition, "Sometimes readers inquire, did I know the Virginian? As well, I hope, as a father should know his son." In the preface of the 16th edition in 1928 Wister throws more light upon the question: "The answer is—metabolism. In 1885, the stage left me for the night at a roadside ranch. The master of that ranch was a Virginian. I never saw him again, but his gentle manners and gentle voice remained somewhere in me. By 1892, I had known many cow-punchers. The gentle manners and voice floated back to me from

the roadside ranch, working in with much mental metabolism. . . . At Fort Bowie, Arizona, during [October, 1893] I rode many miles of desert and mountain with Corporal Skirdin. . . . He seemed to me a sort of incarnation of my imaginary Virginian; he *ratified* my imagination. Two Kansas boys at Las Playas in New Mexico the next year, again were a ratification; and in the same year at Apache Tejo, the foreman of that ranch did and said things which reminded me of the Virginian. By 1902 I had seen a great deal of Skirdin. . . . He, more definitely than any frontier character I had met, continually realized and ratified my imaginary portrait, made me sure of my ground, confident that I was keeping well inside the actualities of frontier character. . . . So much for the portrait, painted, of course, with both the romantic and the realistic brush."¹²

In a letter to Howard Lott of Wyoming, dated September 18, 1931, Wister states, "No real person is in the book unless Dr. Barber, once Governor—and I think he comes into *Lin McLean*."¹³ Nevertheless, there are many legends regarding the true identity of the character.

J. Elmer Brock of Kaycee, Wyoming, in a manuscript in the University Library writes, "The fact that the Virginian was not a real character came to the writer's knowledge many years ago through a friend who made Wister's acquaintance when they came into the country together by stage when the latter was obtaining material for his book, *The Virginian*. This friend called upon Wister after his book was published and asked to [*sic*] the identity of his main character. Wister said his Virginian was a composite character. In his creation he had embodied the outstanding personalities of numerous individuals."

At the time John Hicks, Manager of the T. O. Ranch just across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Texas, was married on January 1, 1906, he received a great deal of newspaper publicity as

¹² *The Virginian*, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xiv.

¹³ Photostat copy of the letter is in the University of Wyoming Library.

being the true Virginian. The *San Francisco Examiner* carried a full page spread with photographs and stated, "Pretty nearly everybody in Texas had known all along that the Virginian was none other than John Henry Hicks. The novelist spent a week as a guest of the 'T. O.' and, when the book came out, cattlemen for miles around realized that John Henry had been immortalized. . . . The new Mrs. Hicks was teaching in the training school at Tempe, Arizona, two and a half years ago when 'the Virginian' first met her." The *Detroit Free Press* for July 1, 1906, in a feature story by Ashley Pond, Jr., who knew Hicks well in New Mexico, said, "If Hicks is not the genuine Virginian then I do miss my guess." The account gave, in detail, various incidents in Hicks' life to help prove his point. The *Denver Times* for June 23, 1906, also gives the Hicks story: "John Hicks married Miss Nina Carter, formerly of New Hampshire . . . the culmination in actual life of the romance depicted by Wister. . . . When Owen Wister came west for material, he landed in Mesa County, New Mexico, where Hicks was at that time working."

In a letter printed in *Western Live Stock* for January, 1951, John H. Hicks' son strengthened the case by revealing that he remembered that when he was a boy there was in their home an autographed copy of *The Virginian* given to his father by Wister, and inscribed "To the Virginian." "Our family has always believed that Wister used my father to some extent in making his character 'the Virginian'. . . . However, at no time did my father claim he was the Virginian. . . . When my father and mother were married their friends gave them a complete set of dolls, each one representing a character in *The Virginian*.¹⁴ . . . My father was called 'the Virginian' by many people, but he always maintained that the character was a composite character."¹⁵

A former Wyoming rancher and early day Johnson County sheriff, Frank Canton, was asserted by his widow to be the Vir-

¹⁴ Two dolls are now at the University of Wyoming Library on loan for the 50th Anniversary exhibit.

¹⁵ *Western Live Stock*. 36: 67, 71. (Jan. 1951.)

ginian. She said that Wister met her husband when he visited the Canton Ranch, near Buffalo, Wyoming. "My husband spent much time with Mr. Wister giving him the groundwork on which *The Virginian* was based. The writer always said he drew the center character around my husband."¹⁶ Mrs. Anna G. Stevens of La Jolla, California, says that when she asked Wister who the Virginian was, he replied, "He was made of three men. Part was your father."¹⁷ Mrs. Stevens' father was Guy Waring, a classmate of Wister at Harvard, and author of *My Pioneer Past*. Another candidate was Everett Cyril Johnson, who died six years ago in Calgary, Alberta.^{17a}

In Cheyenne, railroad men like to think that the Virginian became one of them. This particular "Virginian" worked for a large cattle outfit at Medicine Bow, married the schoolteacher, and shot a cowhand who became "fresh" with his wife. After this incident, the cowhand moved to Cheyenne, where he became a brakeman on the Union Pacific Railroad and for twenty years worked on the run between Cheyenne and Laramie.

From the *Rocky Mountain News* of May 18, 1935: "The original for the central character in Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*, lives in Denver at 2033 Clement Street. He is William (Missou) Hines, and he actually did the baby-switching stunt which is a feature of the novel." Hines knew Owen Wister when he was gathering material for *The Virginian*, and he once said, "We chewed the fat a lot and I told him many things that he put into his book."

Charles F. Ball of Rock Springs, Wyoming, has said, "My grandfather, Charley Ball, was the Virginian. Owen Wister was one of his personal friends. I have proof that Charley Ball was selected by 'We, the People,' and gave a speech in New York City as the Virginian. . . . They paid his expenses and gave him a

¹⁶ *Casper Times Herald*. July 23, 1938.

¹⁷ *Western Live Stock*. Feb. 1951. p. 10.

^{17a} *Time*. 47 (1946), April 29, p. 94.

good pair of boots. My grandfather was a rancher in Wyoming. . . . Old timers here in Wyoming tell me many tales of my grandfather. There isn't any doubt in my mind that he was the Virginian."¹⁸

The baby-switching story has caused a great deal of speculation and controversy. Claims have been made from all sections of the country, from Kansas to California, that Wister took the plot for this tale from local incidents. At least ten different persons in Wyoming have been identified as those famous changelings. Robert Welles Ritchie, American journalist and author, writing in the *Bookman* for January, 1917, says, "Yes, it is true; they did switch the babies at the ranch-house dance. . . . The scene of the famous incident that has had a whole nation laughing for a decade and a half was Hank Devoe's ranch on the south fork of the Powder River in Wyoming. . . . It was Frat Osborn, a hare-brained cow-puncher with a rich imagination, who turned the trick. In Johnson County, Wyoming, the old-timers will still tell with reminiscent pride of Frat Osborn and the babies. . . . The Waterburys rode 18 miles back home on Red Fork with a baby belonging on Meadow Creek; Mrs. Jim Bliss, on Dugout, didn't get her Jim Henry back for four days . . . and him teethin', too."

Many persons have wondered about Wister's geography. Wister clears this up in a letter written to Prof. Wilson O. Clough at the University of Wyoming: "You must not think that my geography is very precise in this book. I have taken license permitted to us entertainers of the public and sometimes moved places about and given realities unreal names. Old Fort Fetterman, the Valley of the North Platte, Powder River, and ranches there, the Big Horn Basin, Wind River, and Jackson Hole, have been at various times successively worked into the story; sometimes by their real and sometimes by fictitious names." To Howard Lott he wrote on September 18, 1931, "Almost all the geography of *The Virginian* is imaginary, except where real names are sometimes used.

¹⁸ *Western Live Stock*. March 1951, p. 7.

I meant to indicate—but very vaguely—the Big Horn Mountains by the ‘Bow Leg’—and I never meant Judge Henry’s ranch to be any definite ranch. I imagined it as being somewhere in Johnson County. ‘Bear Creek’ was not intended for any definite creek. Before writing that book, I had made a number of visits to Wyoming, and had ridden about the Casper range, and the Wind River country, and from the Elkhorn railway to Buffalo. And also on the west side of the Divide in Jackson Hole and all that country. So you may say that I had it *all* in mind *generally*, but none particularly, except where real names occur. ‘Dry Bone’ I had for Old Fort Fetterman.”¹⁹ J. Elmer Brock believes that “he purposely mixed his geography. At that time the feeling from the Johnson County cattle war still ran high. The identity of real persons or events was not advisable.”²⁰

Many “old-timers” in Wyoming believe that the romantic incident of Molly Wood’s going to Wyoming from Vermont to teach school and marrying the Virginian had a marked influence on many other eastern schoolteachers who read the novel. They credit *The Virginian* for the better type of schoolteacher that emigrated to Wyoming during the years immediately following the publication of the romance.

Munro Leaf says, “As long as we have hamburgers, we’ll have *The Virginian*. ’Cause it’s this way, pardner—you can’t have hamburgers without cows, and you can’t have cows without somebody to shove them around, and even if the shovers-around ride on motorcycles, they’re still cowboys and just as long as we have cowboys we have *The Virginian*.”²¹ In *Powder River*,²² Struthers Burt, an adopted Westerner who spends his summers in Wyoming,

¹⁹ A photostat copy of the letter is in the University of Wyoming Library. (It is dated Dec. 7, 1927.)

²⁰ J. Elmer Brock, “Who Was the Virginian?”. Manuscript in the University of Wyoming Library.

²¹ *American Magazine*. 131. Feb. 1941, p. 50.

²² (New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1938), p. 379. This reference is omitted from the index, which in turn is hidden in front of an unpagged terminal essay by Constance Lindsay Skinner. *Editor*.

writes "For western atmosphere, of course, nothing has ever beaten, or ever will beat, that classic, *The Virginian*. . . . Every American boy and girl should be given a copy of *The Virginian* on his, or her, tenth birthday and then be told to read it again when he or she reaches twenty." Some years ago a literary examination was given to some preparatory school boys in which one question asked was "Who wrote *The Virginians*?" The correct answer, of course, was William Makepeace Thackeray. One hundred and sixty-three boys answered Owen Wister; only four got it right.^{22a}

After fifty years, the book is still being issued in new editions and read by thousands.²³ Owen Wister in *The Virginian* has faithfully represented the West, and I am confident that it will still be read by many fifty years from now. I assert, and I do not smile as I say it (as Trampas did at the Virginian's request), that *The Virginian* is a classic of American fiction and American life.

Editions of "The Virginian" in the University of Wyoming Library

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean" | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | With illustrations by Arthur I. Keller | New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1902 | All rights reserved |

504 pp. 14 x 19.5 cm. Six pages at end describing books published by The Macmillan Company. Bound in light brown cloth with pistol in holster entwined in a rope on front cover. A cowboy's spur on spine.

From April, 1902, through February, 1904, this edition was printed as follows: April, 1902; June, 1902; June, twice, 1902; July, 1902; July, twice, 1902; July, three times, 1902; July, four times, 1902; August, 1902; August, twice, 1902; August, three times, 1902; September, 1902; September, twice, 1902; November, 1902; November, twice, 1902; December, 1902; December, twice, 1902; January, 1903; February, 1903; August, 1903; November, 1903; February, 1904.

^{22a} *The Virginian*, *op. cit.*, p. xv. Wister adds, "I have long felt that American education was in a parlous state."

²³ "*The Virginian* still rides on, and on and on." Charles Poore in the *New York Times*, January 5, 1952.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean" | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1904 | All rights reserved

504 pp. 12 x 18 cm. Four pages of advertising of the best new novels published by Macmillan. Bound in red cloth with gold lettering. Published in February, 1904.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | [rule] by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | [rule] Illustrated by scenes and characters | from the play | [rule] New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1904 | All rights reserved | [rule]

504 pp. of text. 13 x 19.5 cm. Five pages at end giving title, music and words of Trampas' song. Theatrical edition published April, 1904. Bound in red cloth with music on front cover. Cast of characters on verso of half-title page. Title-page in black and red.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean" | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1904 | All rights reserved |

504 pp. 12 x 18 cm. Four pages of advertising of the best new novels published by Macmillan. An illustrated theatre edition published in May, 1904. Bound in brown cloth with full-page picture of mounted cowboy on front cover. At bottom of spine is the name R. F. Fenno and Company.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean" | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | New York | The Macmillan Company | London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 1904 | All rights reserved

504 pp. 12 x 18 cm. Four pages of advertising of the best new novels published by Macmillan. A special edition, published in December, 1904. Bound in blue cloth with nearly full-page picture of cowboy on front cover.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | [rule] by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | [rule] with illustrations by | Arthur I. Keller | [rule] New York | Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers [rule]

504 pp. 13 x 19.5 cm. Two pages of advertising of books published by Grosset and Dunlap. Published in October, 1906. Bound in plain red cloth. Macmillan's Standard Library [rule] Grosset and Dunlap on bottom of spine. Macmillan's Standard Library on half-title page. Two crossed six-shooters on top

of spine. On page xiii there is a list of seven illustrations. On verso of title-page at bottom—Norwood Press | J. S. Cushing & Co.—Berwick & Smith Co. | Norwood, Mass., U. S. A.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | [rule] by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | [rule] With illustrations by | Arthur I. Keller | [rule] New York | Grosset & Dunlap | Publisher [rule]

504 pp. 13 x 19.5 cm. Two pages of advertising of books published by Grosset & Dunlap. Published in May, 1908. Bound in red cloth with two white stripes around border of front cover. Macmillan's Standard Library | [rule] Grosset & Dunlap on bottom of spine. Two crossed six-shooters on top of spine. Macmillan's Standard Library on half-title page. No table of illustrations, but there is a frontispiece, and illustrations opposite pp. 98 and 354. On verso of title-page at bottom—Norwood Press | J. S. Cushing & Co.—Berwick & Smith Co. | Norwood, Mass., U. S. A.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," | "U. S. Grant: A Biography," etc., etc. | with illustrations by Arthur I. Keller | Toronto | The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. | 1910

504 pp. 14 x 19.5 cm. Six pages at end describing books published by The Macmillan Co. of Canada. Published April, 1910. Bound in light brown cloth with pistol in holster entwined in a rope on front cover. A cowboy's spur on spine.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | [rule] by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," | "U. S. Grant: a Biography," etc., etc. | [rule] With illustrations by | Arthur I. Keller | [rule] New York | Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers [rule]

504 pp. 13 x 19.5 cm. Ten pages of advertising of books published by Grosset & Dunlap. Published June, 1910. Bound in red cloth with two white stripes around border of front cover. Macmillan's Standard Library [rule] Grosset & Dunlap on bottom of spine. Macmillan's Standard Library on half-title page. Two crossed six-shooters on top of spine. No table of illustrations, but there is a frontispiece, and illustrations opposite pp. 98 and 202. No information at bottom of verso of title-page.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of Red Men and White, etc., | [four star design] New York | Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers | [two rules around border] Published by Arrangement with The Macmillan Company

506 pp. 13 x 19.5 cm. Eight pages of advertising of books published by Grosset & Dunlap. Published October, 1911. No table of illustrations. Illustrations on

pp. 2, 15, 29, 45, 64, 78, 88, 101, 117, 129, 140, 146, 164, 176, 190, 202, 211, 219, 230, 246, 254, 269, 282, 298, 311, 322, 335, 349, 365, 380, 394, 403, 421, 434, 446, 451, 460, 473, 484, 494, 499, 506. Bound in dark red cloth with two white lines around the border of front cover. Two crossed six-shooters on spine. At bottom of spine: Macmillan's Standard Library [rule] Grosset & Dunlap. Macmillan's Standard Library on half-title page.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Illustrated with scenes | from the photoplay | A Preferred Pictures production | [flower] Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers New York | [two ruled borders] Made in the United States of America

504 pp. 13 x 19.5cm. Eight pages of advertising of books published by Grosset and Dunlap. Published in October, 1911. No table of illustrations. Frontispiece and illustrations on pp. 2, 15, 29, 45, facing 50, 64, 78, 88, 101, 117, 129, 140, 146, 164, 176, 190, 202, 211, 219, 230, 246, facing 250, 254, 269, 282, 298, 311, 322, 335, 349, 365, 380, 394, facing 402, 403, 421, 434, 446, 451, 460, 473, 484, 494, 499, 506. Bound in light red cloth with two black lines around the border of front cover. Two crossed six-shooters on spine. (Kenneth Harlan played the Virginian; Florence Vidor, Molly.)

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Red Men and White," "Lin McLean," "U. S. Grant: a Biography" etc., etc. | Edited by | James Fleming Hosic | Head of the Department of English in the Chicago Normal | College and editor of the English Journal | New York | The Macmillan Company | 1922 | All rights reserved

423 pp. 11 x 14.5 cm. Macmillan's Pocket Classic edition. Bound in brown cloth. Verso of half-title page and following page gives list of Macmillan's Pocket American and English Classics.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Members of the Family" | "Lady Baltimore," etc. | New edition | with illustrations by Charles M. Russell | and drawings from western scenes | By Frederic Remington | New York | The Macmillan Company | 1923 | All rights reserved

506 pp. 13.5 x 19.5 cm. Bound in dark red cloth. This edition was first published in October, 1911, with a "Re-dedication and Preface" referring to Roosevelt as "the greatest benefactor we people have known since Lincoln."

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Illustrated with scenes from | the all talking photoplay | a Paramount picture | [design] Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers New York | [rule] Published by Arrangement with The Macmillan Company

506 pp. 13 x 19.5 cm. Published in March, 1925. No list of illustrations. Illustrations on frontispiece, pp. 2, 15, 29, 45, 64, 78, 88, facing 98, 101, 117, 129, 140, 146, 164, 176, 190, 202, 211, 219, facing 226, 230, 246, 254, 269, 282, 298, 311, 322, 335, 349, facing 354, 365, 380, 394, 403, 421, 434, 446, 451, 460, 473, 484, 494, 499, 506. Bound in light red cloth with two crossed six-shooters on spine. Eight pages of advertising of books published by Grosset & Dunlap.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Members of the Family" | "Lady Baltimore," etc. | New edition | with illustrations by Charles M. Russell | and drawings from western scenes | By Frederic Remington | New York | The Macmillan Company | 1925 | All rights reserved

506 pp. 13.5 x 19.5 cm. Published in March, 1925. On page xv there is a list of full-page illustrations. Bound in dark brown cloth with design of a camp on the front cover.

The Writings of Owen Wister | of The American Academy of Arts and Letters | Membre Correspondant de la Société | des Gens de Lettres | Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature | [two blue rules, one heavy, one light] The Virginian | [design] New York | The Macmillan Company | 1928 | All rights reserved

392 pp. 13 x 19 cm. All the information on the title-page is within a blue-line border. Frontispiece ("The Last Cavalier") from a painting by Frederic Remington.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Members of the Family" | "Lady Baltimore," etc. | New edition | with illustrations by Charles M. Russell | and drawings from western scenes | by Frederic Remington | New York | The Macmillan Company | 1928 | All rights reserved

506 pp. 13.5 x 19.5 cm. On verso of title-page at bottom: Printed in the United States of America by the Berwick & Smith Company. On p. xv there is a list of full-page illustrations. Bound in dark brown cloth with design of a camp on the front cover.

The Virginian | A Horseman of | the Plains | Owen Wister | [design] Edited by James Fleming Hosic | Revised by H. Y. Moffett | Illustrated by Clarence Rowe | [floral border] The | Macmillan | Company

506 pp. 11 x 17 cm. New Pocket Classics edition published April, 1930. Three pages at end listing the New Pocket Classics. Bound in bright red cloth.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | [de-

sign] Grosset & Dunlap | Publishers New York | [rule] Published by Arrangement with The Macmillan Company

506 pp. 12.5 x 19 cm. Published in September, 1930. No list of illustrations. Frontispiece, and illustrations on pp. 2, 15, 29, 45, 64, 78, 88, 101, 117, 140, 146, 162, 176, 190, facing pp. 194, 202, 211, 219, 230, 246, 254, 269, 282, 298, 311, 322, facing 322, 335, 349, 365, 380, 394, 403, facing pp. 418, 421, 434, 446, 451, 460, 473, 484, 494, 499, 506. Bound in dark red cloth with a cowboy's hat and rope on spine.

The | Virginian | by | Owen Wister | [design] Grosset & Dunlap | New York | by arrangement with The Macmillan Company [two line borders around title-page] [Illustrations of two mounted cowboys]

506 pp. 14 x 20 cm. Published in May, 1935. No list of illustrations. Same small illustrations as earlier edition. Frontispiece but no other full-page illustrations.

The Virginian | A Horseman of | the Plains | Owen Wister | [design] Edited by James Fleming Hosis | Revised by H. Y. Moffett | illustrated by Clarence Rowe | [floral border] The | Macmillan | Company

567 pp. 11 x 17 cm. New Pocket Classics edition published May, 1935. Bound in bright red cloth.

The Virginian | A Horseman of the Plains | by | Owen Wister | Author of "Members of the Family" | "Lady Baltimore," etc. | New edition | with illustrations by Charles M. Russell | and drawings from western scenes | by Frederic Remington | New York | The Macmillan Company | 1945

506 pp. 14 x 20 cm. Published in October, 1945. Due to war format, all full-page illustrations are inserted at the end of the text. They consist of 10 illustrations on five sheets. Bound in light brown cloth with design of a camp scene on front cover.

The | Virginian | by | Owen Wister | [design] Grosset & Dunlap | New York | by Arrangement with The Macmillan Company [two rules around border]

506 pp. 13.5 x 19.5 cm. Published in October, 1945. Bound in light green cloth. Two crossed six-shooters at top of spine. No list of illustrations. Same small illustrations as earlier edition. Illustration of two mounted cowboys at top of title-page.

The Virginian | [drawing of cowboy standing beside a horse] A Horseman of the Plains | by Owen Wister | with an introduction by Struthers Burt | and illustrations by William Moyers | [design] Print-

ed for the members of The Limited Editions Club | at The Plantin Press, Los Angeles: 1951

437 pp. 18.5 x 26.5 cm. Bound in light brown cloth with a picture of a cowboy standing beside a horse on front cover.

The | Virginian | by | Owen Wister | Editions for the Armed Services. Inc. | A non-profit organization established by | the Council On Books In Wartime, New York

382 pp. 11.5 x 16.5 cm. Bound in paper cover. Number 887 of the series of Armed Services Editions. Two pages at end of book devoted to "About the Author."

"The Virginian" and Owen Wister: a Bibliography*

By EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

BOOKS

Baldwin, Charles C. (George Gordon, *pseud.*) *The Men Who Make Our Novels*. Revised ed. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924.

"*The Virginian* (published in April [*sic*] 1902) is still the best he has to offer—and comes near to being the best of its kind." It was published May 28, 1902. (*Publishers' Weekly*, May 17, 1902.)

Branch, Douglas. *The Cowboy and His Interpreters*. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1926.

Chapter Twelve, "The Virginian and Taisie" contains some rather disparaging references to the novel. Mr. Branch seems to prefer Emerson Hough's *North of 36* (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1923), in which the boss of the Laguna del Sol is Anastasie Lochhart.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *The Confident Years: 1885-1915*. [New York], E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952.

Mr. Brooks compares the Virginian to Billy Budd and Natty Bumppo, while stating that there is "a touch of the histrionic even in Wister's 'Virginian,' who emerged from no great depth in the author's mind."

*Burt, Struthers. *Powder River*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. (Rivers of America series.)

Cooper, Frederic Taber. *Some American Story Tellers*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1911.

"The secret of its enduring hold upon the public must be sought in something deeper and more vital. We find the answer, I think, in the broad, gen-

* Starred items are quoted in the article by Mr. Rush.

eral principle, expressed here and there by words, and throughout the book by implication, that in every community men must make such laws for themselves as the conditions under which they live demand."

Harkins, Edward F. *Little Pilgrimages Among the Men Who Have Written Famous Books*. Second series. Boston, L. C. Page & Company, 1903.

"Without it the all too small gallery of portraits of the cowboy would be incomplete."

Hart, James D. *The Popular Book: a History of America's Literary Taste*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1950.

"The novel was also in the prevailing vogue to the extent that it featured a single eccentric character, the cowboy known only as 'The Virginian,' who though illiterate was pure in heart; it had the basic appeal of removing the city-bred reader to the open country, the land of the 'strenuous life' currently being celebrated by the President [Theodore Roosevelt]." The Virginian, who wrote to Molly Wood and read the books she recommended, was, of course, not "illiterate."

Harvard University. Class of 1882. Secretary's Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report. Cambridge, Mass., The Secretary, 1907.

Literary History of the United States. Edited by Robert E. Spiller [and others]. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949. 3 vols.

"The book from which many horse operas derive has a dignity and strength not shared by its imitators." II: 872. (Wallace Stegner.)

Marble, Annie Russell. *A Study of the Modern Novel British and American Since 1900*. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1928.

"He planned *The Virginian* as early as 1893, declaring, 'I wanted to write a picaresque novel of the West; the West was nomadic in essence and it called for a nomadic art-form to express it most adequately.' The tales in *Red Men and White* were preparatory for this masterpiece which pictures Wyoming from 1874 to 1890, with a love story of ardent, consistent romance, interwoven with vivid scenic effects."

The first sentence of the quotation above was taken verbatim from an article in the July, 1908, *Bookman*, by Edward Clark Marsh, No. VI in his series, "Representative American Story-Tellers."

Mrs. Marble gives the Virginian a name, though Wister did not; she calls him Steve. (She also calls Lin McLean Jim). "Behind the roughness of Steve was a chivalrous heart and a keen, witty mind. Recall his droll, wise criticisms of *Romeo and Juliet*," etc. (In the novel Steve is the Virginian's buddy; the Virginian reluctantly assists at his hanging.)

Mrs. Marble also says, "The story opens in a corral. One of the cows refuses to be caught." For cows, read cow-ponies.

Millett, Fred B. *Contemporary American Authors; a Critical Survey*. New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1940.

The article on Wister concludes with an excellent bibliography. *The Virginian* is called "the most famous novel on this period."

Mott, Frank Luther. *Golden Multitudes; the Story of Best Sellers in the United States*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947.

Dr. Mott makes the astonishing statement that "The fact is, there is not a cow in the book, except some the illustrator put in." The fact is, there are more than 500 cattle in the book (see Chapter IV, "Deep Into Cattle Land"), and cows are mentioned specifically on p. 88: "But calves had begun to disappear in Cattle Land, and cows had been found killed." Chapter VI makes a point of the fact that Judge Henry had fresh milk to serve to his guests.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. *American Fiction; an Historical and Critical Survey*. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936.

"Both [*Lin McLean* (1898)] and *The Virginian* are interesting on account of some striking episodes rather than through any well-constructed plot."

Spiller, Robert E., ed. *See Literary History of the United States*.

Van Doren, Carl. *The American Novel, 1789-1939*. Rev. and enl. ed. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940.

Calls *The Virginian* "more heroic, more sentimental" than the Westerns by Alfred Henry Lewis: *Wolfville Days* (1902) and *Wolfville Nights* (1902).

Wagenknecht, Edward. *Cavalcade of the American Novel*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1952.

Notes that *The Virginian* was "something of a special case" among Westerns.

Walbridge, Earle F. *Literary Characters Drawn From Life*. New York, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1936.

A note on *The Virginian* quotes Meigs O. Frost as stating that Wister once told Col. George R. Shanton, formerly chief of the insular police at Panama, that he had picked him as the original of the Virginian.

———. Owen Wister. In: *Twentieth Century Authors*. Edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft. New York, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1942.

Writers' Program. *Wyoming. Wyoming; a Guide to Its History, Highways and People*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. (American Guide Series.)

"MEDICINE BOW . . . was headquarters of the hero of Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*. Before writing the book, the author rode for the Two Bar outfit. The VIRGINIAN HOTEL, a three-story, stone-block building with pagodalike roof, stands in the center of town. It has an old-time bar. Opposite the hotel is a monument, chiefly of agatized wood, erected in 1939 in honor of Wister."

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

- **American Magazine*. 131, February, 1941. p. 50.
- **Bookman*. 15 (1902), 513; 27 (July 1908), 458-466 ("Representative American Story Tellers. VI. Owen Wister," by Edward Clark Marsh);¹ 44 (1917), 460-463 ("Some Scenes of *The Virginian*," by Robert Welles Ritchie).
- *Casper (Wyo.) *Times Herald*. July 23, 1938.
- Critic*. 41 (1902), 358-359. "The Virginian Wins East and West," by Lucy Monroe.
 "[Suggests] the romance of the West without sentimentality."
- *Denver (Colo.) *Times*. July 23, 1938.
- **Golden Book Magazine*. 5 (1927), 845.
- **New York Times*. January 5, 1952; May 4, 1952.
- *Platte County (Wyo.) *Record*. Aug. 4, 1939.
- Publishers' Weekly*. 135 (1939), 835-836.
 Correspondence between Jacob Blanck and I. J. Campbell, concerning a 1902 edition of *The Virginian* bound in vertically ribbed slate-blue cloth instead of the usual straw-colored cloth with gilded top edges. Five copies were bound for presentation to Theodore Roosevelt and others.
- Reviews of *The Virginian*: *Atlantic Monthly*, 90 (1902), 277-278 (H. W. Boynton); *Book Buyer*, 25 (1902), 250-251; **Bookman* 15 (1902), 569 (Beverly Stark); *Forum*, 34 (1902), 223-224 (Frank J. Mather, Jr.); *World's Work*, 5 (1902), 1792-1794.
- **Rocky Mountain News*. May 18, 1935.
- **Time*. 47 (1946). April 29, p. 94.
- **Western Live Stock*. Jan., Feb., March 1951.

¹ See under MARBLE, ANNIE RUSSELL.

Government Publication in Late Eighteenth-Century Mexico

By EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.

I

ALTHOUGH the bibliography of the history of printing in Mexico is studded with significant names and important and monumental works, the coverage of the subject is markedly uneven. Monographs on aspects of the field frequently are based on only one or two imprints or one or two documents; the great bibliographies of García Icazbalceta, Andrade, León,¹ and Medina² are detailed reference works, and do not give a general narrative. Further, almost all scholarly attention has been devoted to the sixteenth century, the period of Mexican incunabula. It is true that in the later centuries the great amount of material makes the writing of generalized accounts difficult, but they are much needed. Before a definitive history of Mexican printing is written, there will have to be a number of studies which dig rather deeply within narrow limits.

The present paper is offered as an attempt at such a study, being a checklist of the official imprints of the rule of one viceroy, with some remarks on government publishing in Mexico in the late eighteenth century. This list is, to the writer's knowledge, the first attempt at an inclusive listing of government documents of any segment of the colonial period in Mexico. Medina intended

¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del Siglo XVI* . . . (México, 1886); Vicente de P. Andrade, *Ensayo Bibliográfico mexicano del Siglo XVII* (2d edition, México, 1899); Nicolás León, *Bibliografía mexicana del Siglo XVIII*, 5 vols. (México, 1902-1908). Taken together, these form a continuous bibliography of Mexican imprints to 1800.

² José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539-1821)*, 8 vols. (Santiago de Chile, 1907-1912).

to record all imprints, but was more concerned with non-official items than with government documents, and inevitably missed many titles. To prepare a list as detailed as this one for the whole colonial period would be a tremendous undertaking, but cross sections such as this could be made at significant points.

The period here taken—1789 to 1794—is an important one in Mexican history and culture, though perhaps not quite typical as far as government publishing is concerned. The number of documents printed in any given year depended to a large degree on the zeal of the viceroy in office. The incumbent at this time was Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco, the second Conde de Revilla Gigedo (1740-1799).³ He was a man with a passion for governing and an indefatigable personal interest in all the operations of government, qualities which are reflected in the great output of documents in his time. The portion of Medina's bibliography covering his rule contains several score official imprints, but that covering his successor (the Marqués de Branciforte, 1794-1798) records only one. While it is true that Medina missed many imprints, especially minor government publications, the proportion is essentially correct.

Medina's monumental work was the natural starting point for a study of this nature. He lists some 12,500 Mexican imprints of the colonial period; the years from 1789 to 1794 include 594 titles, of which 120 and one variant are government documents falling within the scope of the present list. Other bibliographical sources and the collections of the Henry E. Huntington Library

³ The best sketch of this viceroy and his administration was written by Joaquín García Icazbalceta and printed in the *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía*, 10 vols. (México, 1853-1856), III: 732-734, and elsewhere. Apparently the only printed sketch in English is by James A. Magner, in his *Men of Mexico* (Milwaukee, [1942]), pp. 173-205. For other materials on the man and his times, see Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., "The 'Instrucción reservada' of the Viceroy Conde de Revilla Gigedo of New Spain, 1794" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of California, Los Angeles, 1949), and James M. Manfredini, *Political Role of the Count of Revillagigedo, Viceroy of New Spain, 1789-1794* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1949), a mimeographed edition of a doctoral dissertation done at the University of Texas.

were next checked, and these yielded thirteen more titles. Then followed an examination of the volume of Revilla Gigedo *bandos* (edicts) in the Bancroft Library, and other materials to be found there; this search added eight more titles and one additional variant. At this point the card file for the checklist included 141 titles and two variants.

Although it was evident that there must be some imprints which had escaped Medina and were not in either of the two libraries examined, it seemed likely that this initial work had yielded roughly ninety per cent or so of the possibilities. In the summer of 1948 the writer had a chance to spend a month in Mexico City, searching in the national archives and the national library. Instead of an additional ten per cent, this activity produced 135 new titles and four more variants, or almost one hundred per cent more. There may still be some government documents of the period not located for this list, but they cannot be many.

No precise chronological limits have been set on the following general discussion of the printing and publishing picture in Mexico in the late eighteenth century, but they might be given as 1767-1768 and 1800. The first two years brought the closing of three presses—one of them nearly a century and a half old—and the opening of another, so that there was a definite shift in the printing picture. Later turning points are less clear, but the final year of the century might be taken, especially since it marked the death of José Fernández de Jauregui, one of the two principal printers at the time.

II

The Government and its Administrative Documents

The government of New Spain, one of Spain's two richest and most important New World colonies, was almost from the day of its conquest a viceregency. The supreme authority in the colony was the viceroy, who represented the Spanish ruler's absolute

political, military, and religious power. In the second half of the eighteenth century those appointed to the position were frequently noblemen and high-ranking army officers, and occasionally an important ecclesiastic held the post for a short period.

Spanish administration did not have a clear-cut differentiation between legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The most important governing agency within the colony of Mexico was the *audiencia*, an appointive group of local residents who served as both a supreme court and a rudimentary legislature. This body was very jealous of its prerogatives, and was frequently at cross-purposes with the viceroy sent from Spain, although he was *ex officio* president of the body. The most important of its regular members was the *regente* or dean, a post created in 1776. The area of Mexico was so great that there was a second *audiencia*, at Guadalajara, to govern the north and west.

Regional government was revised in 1786 into a system of "intendancies," of which there were twelve; the northern frontier areas were under the military government of a *comandante general*. The intendancies were broken down into smaller units, which do not figure in the picture of government publication except as recipients of official orders. At first there was a separate official (the *Superintendente*) over the twelve intendants, but in 1789 this assignment was given to the viceroy *ex officio*. He also, in 1793, absorbed the post of intendant of the province of Mexico, the area surrounding Mexico City. Some of the official imprints of the viceroys arise from these aspects of their position, while others come from their other capacities, such as Captain General of the armed forces of the kingdom or as Superintendent of the Mails.

In Mexico City there was a full-scale municipal government, but the position of the viceroy—especially when he had an active interest in municipal affairs, as the Conde de Revilla Gigedo did—was so strong that the documents concerning urban matters came out over his signature.

The general government of the colony was a bureaucracy, and almost every economic or social situation was controlled by a *junta* (a board or committee) or a *tribunal* (partly a court and partly a commission or department). Those boards or individuals that published over their own names included the director of mines (*Tribunal de Minería*), the director of the lottery, and the *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda*, a very powerful and important body (of which the viceroy was a member) controlling all financial matters.

The government documents published in Mexico in the late eighteenth century had two points of origin: either they were orders sent from Spain or they were issued by some official in the colony.

Normally, royal orders, *cédulas* (another form of royal order), and other documents originating in Spain appear to have been sent to the viceroy of Mexico in only one or two copies, and if he felt it necessary to publish the matter there, he had the document reprinted. A few of the major codes affecting the government of the colony, and perhaps that of other colonies as well, such as the ordinance creating the intendant system⁴ and others, were printed in Spain and sent to Mexico in multiple copies. An example of the combination of Spanish imprint and local order is given by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in his report to his successor^{4a}:

On April 24, 1784, the general accounting office of the Indies promulgated a practical and provisional regulation⁵ to establish the system of double-entry [bookkeeping]; having been approved by His Majesty,

⁴ *Real ordenanza para el establecimiento é instrucción de intendentes de ejército y provincia en el reino de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1782).

^{4a} *Instrucción reservada que el Conde de Revillagigedo dió a su sucesor . . . Marqués de Branciforte sobre el gobierno de este continente . . .* (México, 1831); also printed in *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores . . .*, 2 vols. (México, 1873, Vols. XIII-XIV of *Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia*). The only English translation is in Carpenter, *op. cit.* The paragraph here quoted is No. 765.

⁵ *Instrucción práctica y provisional en forma de advertencias, que debe servir a todas las caxas reales . . . dispuesta por la contaduría general, y aprobada por el rei en 9 de mayo de 1784* (Madrid, n.d.).

seventy-five copies were sent to these kingdoms, with orders to institute [the system], beginning the following year, 1786. To this effect orders and supporting letters were sent, and . . . a simple explanation of the regulation and models from the general accounting office, so that the [local offices of the treasury] had no more work to do than to substitute amounts and names.

Another instance is a *bando* of March 18, 1791,⁶ forwarding a papal brief printed in Madrid in 1790. No copy of a Mexican edition of the brief was found by the writer, so it is possible that enough copies of the Spanish edition were received to distribute it without reprinting.

Government documents of one sort or another were drawn up and published whenever it appeared necessary for the information or governance of the officials of the colony. Almost every official imprint of this time was a directive of some type, there being very few of the informational publications which are a marked feature of modern government publishing. Many were of the most routine nature, often being merely a paragraph or two to introduce the verbatim quotation of an order received from Spain. Others, though, were of considerable import, and often took some time to prepare.

Such were the regulations governing various military units, government bodies, trades, industries, and other activities. Preparation of military regulations was usually entrusted to the Sub-Inspector General, normally the highest ranking officer in the colony outside the viceroy, who functioned as the viceroy's chief of staff.⁷ If a code or set of rules was required for some non-military situation or institution, the viceroy directed an appropriate official to draw one up. In such cases the compiler was usually given credit on the title-page.⁸ Revilla Gigedo describes such an occasion thus:

⁶ Checklist, No. 73.

⁷ Cases of the Sub-Inspector General's writing or revising codes for military units are described in Revilla Gigedo's *Instrucción reservada*, Pars. 551-553, 557, and elsewhere. (Checklist, Nos. 57, 58, 108.)

⁸ E.g., Checklist, No. 40.

There was in Mexico City a large number of bathhouses and *temescales*, which are a sort of sweathouse that the Indians have used since their pagan days. There was also in this matter the same disorder and disarray as in almost all others of policing: informed of this, I directed the *corregidor* of this capital to make a visit to all of [the baths] and (making a thorough memoir on the subject) to report to me the results, and to draw up at the same time an ordinance, so that in the future this important matter of policing could be regulated and ordered. He did so, and in August, 1793, the ordinance was printed,⁹ and the proper copies given to the royal *audiencia*, the criminal chamber, the *fiscales*, the *asesor general*, the major judges, and the police commission.¹⁰

Because of the easy-going nature of the colonial bureaucracy at the time, it was sometimes a slow matter to get a code drawn up. Revilla Gigedo narrated for his successor his problems along this line in one instance. In February, 1790, one of his legal assistants pointed out the need for an ordinance covering the government mercury monopoly, and the viceroy named a minor official to draw one up. This individual asked for certain documents he needed for the purpose, and they were sent to him in March, 1790. No regulation was forthcoming, and after repeated reminders from the viceroy the official returned the papers in March, 1792, without having achieved any result. Another person was appointed for the task, and he submitted a draft in May, 1793. The draft was to be sent to various individuals and bureaus concerned for comment, but when Revilla Gigedo wrote, in June, 1794, it had not yet been returned by the first one on the list, so that the mercury monopoly was still without a written ordinance.¹¹

Some indication has been given in the discussion thus far of the types of subject matter covered by various government documents of this period. Because of the nature of the Spanish colonial government, with a lack of clear lines between executive, legis-

⁹ Checklist, No. 213.

¹⁰ *Instrucción reservada*, Par. 253.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pars. 995-997.

lative, and judicial matters in many areas, and because of the diffuseness of some of the individual orders it is difficult to classify them sharply enough to handle them statistically, but a general analysis can be made. The 276 documents in the checklist may be classified roughly:

A. Military matters	41
B. Local administrative details (cf. G)	25
C. Customs, tribute, sales tax ¹²	23
D. Municipal administration, Mexico City	19
E. Ecclesiastical matters	18
F. Covering letters for other documents	17
G. "Civil service" matters	14
H. Administrative matters of home government (news of appointments, promotions or retirement of min- isters of state, etc.)	12
I. Coinage and the mint	11
J. Public health and safety	10
K. Treasury and royal monopolies, except C	9
L. Mail service	9
M. Census (both orders and statistics)	6
N. Statistics, except I, M, and P	6
O. Royal family (birth of princes, etc.)	5
P. Mining	5
Q. Agriculture	4
R. French Revolution and war with France	4
S. Lottery ¹³	4
T. Orders relating to individuals	3
U. Marriage regulations	3
V. Miscellaneous, including such subjects as hospitals and charities, slaves, Spanish titles, botanical pub- lications, coaches for hire, etc.	29

¹² There are in addition about forty circulars issued by the director of one of these departments; see Appendix A.

¹³ Of general interest. In addition there were about eighty-five routine announcements of drawings and prizes.

III

The Printing of Official Documents

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were four or five big printing houses in Mexico City, each capable of producing imprints of any size and of considerable complexity. After the shift in the publishing picture in 1767 and 1768 only two of these firms, however, were engaged in government printing.

The Jesuits had a press in their Colegio de San Ildefonso, begun about 1748, and managed in 1767 by Manuel Antonio Valdés. The latter year saw the expulsion of the order from the domains of the King of Spain, and this press was closed.¹⁴ For several years there had also been in operation a press called the "Bibliotheca Mexicana," imported from Spain by a churchman named Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren for the purpose of printing his book bearing that name; this press was subsequently used for other work until 1767, when Eguiara y Eguren gave it up.

A new figure in Mexican printing appeared in that year, José de Jauregui. He purchased the equipment of the "Bibliotheca Mexicana," and possibly acquired that of the defunct printing house of the Calderón and Ribera families, which had operated from 1621 until 1767 or 1768; he appears also to have imported equipment and types from Spain.¹⁵ In 1781 his firm passed to a nephew, José Fernández de Jauregui, who operated it during the rest of the century.

Two larger and more important printing firms were also in operation at this time. The older was that of José Bernardo de Hogal, dating back to the early 1720's. In 1766 it came into the possession of his son, José Antonio de Hogal, who succeeded the Ribera firm as government printer (*Impresor del Superior Gobierno*)

¹⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all material in this and the following three paragraphs is drawn from Medina, *Imprenta en México*, I: clxxv-cxcvii, and Juan B. Igúñiz, *La Imprenta en la Nueva España* (México, 1938, *Enciclopedia ilustrada mexicana*, No. 8), pp. 29-38.

¹⁵ "Informe de D. José Antonio de Hogal . . . 5 de noviembre de 1785," printed in Medina, *op. cit.*, VIII: 406-409, p. 407.

in 1767 or 1768. He gave up this contract in 1781, but retained for a ten-year period the contract for lottery printing. This was renewed for another decade in 1791,¹⁶ but it is not clear just when this firm went out of existence. A younger firm but one which became very important was that of the family of Zúñiga y Ontiveros. It was founded in 1761 by the brothers Cristobal and Felipe, but the former died in 1764, so that in 1767 the firm was being operated by Felipe Zúñiga y Ontiveros, who became the government printer (except for lottery work) when Hogal gave up the position in 1781.

Manuel Antonio Valdés, who had operated the San Ildefonso press for the Jesuits, associated himself with the Zúñiga firm, and he seems to have been in charge of it in 1794 and 1795, between the death of Felipe and the time that his son, Mariano José, took over.¹⁷ Under Mariano this firm continued through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and was noted for printing most of the annuals and periodicals published in Mexico City over a period of three quarters of a century. Felipe and Mariano Zúñiga y Ontiveros were both government surveyors in addition to being printers.

As indicated, the shops of Hogal, Jauregui, and Zúñiga—as well as that of Pedro de la Rosa in Puebla—were equipped to do almost any kind of printing. Each had a good selection of type faces and sizes. Types and presses were almost entirely imported from Spain; the younger Hogal in his “informe” of 1785 mentions several occasions on which complete print shops were brought from the mother country.¹⁸ He said, for example, that his firm had spent over 70,000 pesos importing equipment, and that the modern and complete shop of Zúñiga y Ontiveros had cost over 50,000 pesos. Evidence of dependence on Spain up to the end of the century is shown in the case of the introduction of printing in-

¹⁶ *Infra*, p. 132.

¹⁷ Valdés opened his own press in 1808. Iguíniz, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

to Guadalajara in 1795. The city had desired a press for some time, and in 1792 Manuel Antonio Valdés undertook to provide one. He purchased a complete print shop in Spain and set it up in the provincial city under the direction of his son.¹⁹ Among the items imported were matrices for casting type, and Valdés claimed exemption from sales tax on them, on the precedent of Felipe Zúñiga y Ontiveros, who had received such exemption on matrices imported in 1776. The government granted this claim on the basis that the materials were for use, not sale.²⁰

Not all type was imported, however; in the late eighteenth century some was cast in Mexico. In 1770 Jauregui published a book at the foot of the title-page of which he printed, "The types for this edition were made in this city by Don Francisco Xavier de Ocampo, at the cost of the said Don Joseph de Jauregui."²¹ As a prominent American student of Mexican printing points out,

Certainly, unless the casting of type in Mexico in 1770 had been an uncommon operation, Joseph de Jauregui would not have proclaimed the completion of a font of native-made letters in so conspicuous a place as the title-page of a book.²²

There seems to have been casting of music type locally by the senior Hogal early in the century;²³ Gerónimo Antonio Gil, an engraver of the Royal Academy, cast type in 1785;²⁴ and the watchmaker José Francisco Dimas Rangel is recorded as having

¹⁹ José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Guadalajara de México (1793-1821)* ... (Santiago de Chile, 1904), pp. v-xiii, 30.

²⁰ Juan B. Iguíniz, *La Imprenta en la Nueva Galicia, 1793-1821* ... (México, 1911), pp. 254-255.

²¹ Medina, *Imprenta en México*, No. 5322. The title-page is reproduced in the article next cited.

²² Lawrence C. Wroth, "The Origins of Typefounding in North and South America," in: *Ars Typographica*, II: [273]-307 (April, 1926), p. 284. Later it was found that there had been typefounding in Mexico in 1550, but since it was not a continuing industry this does not affect the eighteenth-century situation. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Typefounding in Mexico," in: *The Library*, ser. 4, VIII: [119]-122 (June, 1927).

²³ Medina, *Imprenta en México*, I: clxii.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. clxxx.

manufactured molds, punches, and matrices between 1785 and 1814;²⁵ but it is clear that Mexican typesetting was not important, though not unknown.

Paper, too, was imported from Spain—the standard thin, opaque, tough, white paper of the time. One indication of a specific source of paper is found in a volume of page proofs of government publications in the Biblioteca Nacional; many of these were done on wrapping paper, one of them on a piece still bearing the label, “Paper from the factory of Miguel Juliá in the principality of Catalonia.”²⁶ In the eighteenth century there were plans to make European-style paper in Mexico, a license for the purpose being granted in 1740, but apparently nothing came of them.²⁷

Ink was made in the individual printshops, the usual practice in that period.²⁸ Black and red only were used, though occasionally engravings of the period are found printed in other colors, such as green.

One printer was normally designated government printer, apparently by contract, but from 1781 to 1791 and some time later, the printing of lottery tickets (and probably the lottery posters, circulars, etc.) was done by a different printer than the bulk of the government work. When this separate lottery contract expired in 1791, its holder (Hogal) and three or four other persons bid for the new contract, which was awarded again to Hogal. One of the competitors, Gerardo Flórez Coronado, did not even own a press;

²⁵ Hogal, “Informe . . .,” p. 409; Francisco Pérez Salazar, “Dos Familias de Impresores mexicanos del Siglo XVII,” *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad científica “Antonio Alzate,”* 43: 447-511 (Septiembre-Diciembre, 1924), pp. 496-497. Despite its title, this article bears on the eighteenth century as well as the seventeenth.

In 1786 Rangel was licensed to operate a print shop, and he produced a few small imprints with his own types. Medina, *Imprenta en México*, I: clxxxvii-clxxxix.

²⁶ “Papel de la Fabrica de Miguel Juliá en el Principado de Cataluña.” Biblioteca Nacional de México, Departamento de Manuscritos, Tomo 374, f. 135.

²⁷ Lawrence C. Wroth, *Some Reflections on the Book Arts in Early Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1945), p. [5].

²⁸ Iguíniz, *Imprenta en la Nueva España*, p. 30.

presumably he intended to sub-let the contract if he won it.²⁹ The writer has been unable to find any of the regular printing contracts or evidence of the rate or method of payment, though further search in the archives of Mexico or Spain should yield some data.

Actual details of the process of getting a document printed can be recovered only in part. Presumably the viceroy's secretary sent the manuscript to the printer, who returned a proof. The volume of proof copies mentioned above includes a few manuscripts and many proofs, both first and second (final?); no more than two proofs occur for any one item.³⁰ These proofs bear frequent comments such as "Proof to be corrected," "250 copies," "For the printer," "Find out from the secretary's office how many copies, return the paper, and have it printed promptly, with these corrections."³¹ Frequently the day of the month was left blank in printing, so that it could be filled in by hand when the document was officially issued. Also, blanks had to be left for insertion of the proper form of address, depending on the rank of the recipient of the imprint.

Ordinarily, copy and proof could pass back and forth from the secretariat to the printer without any particular concern for secrecy, but there was one famous exception to this. When the Viceroy Marqués de Croix received, in 1767, the order for the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Mexico, he had to handle it with the utmost secrecy prior to its publication, which was intended to be simultaneous throughout the Spanish empire. He called to the viceregal palace José Antonio de Hoyal, the government print-

²⁹ Conde de Revilla Gigedo to Diego de Gardoqui, No. 68, May 31, 1792 (draft), Archivo General de la Nación, Correspondencia de los virreyes, Tomo 12/165, ff. 212-213v.

Medina indicates that Flórez Coronado did own a small press; he was a postal employee, and at one time printed some forms for use in the post office. Medina, *Imprenta en México*, I: clxxiv-clxxvi.

³⁰ A "manuscript" for the printer might, of course, be a copy of a Spanish or earlier Mexican imprint, to be reprinted; e.g., Checklist, Nos. 160, 164. "Copy" for the latter is a Spanish edition marked, "Six copies of this are to be printed."

³¹ Volume cited in n. 26, *passim*.

er,³² and led him to a corner. Handing him the manuscript of the order, he directed him to print it for publication, warning him that if any news leaked out by way of the printers, he would order Hogal hanged from a balcony of the palace. Hogal is said to have made and delivered the necessary edition with his own hands.³³

The typography of government documents was extremely plain and unornamented. The late eighteenth century was a period of severity and coldness in printing in Mexico, a reaction from an earlier baroque style;³⁴ and in addition few official imprints had any reason to be elaborate. Documents were set in a standard text face, using both roman and italic forms. There was no ornamentation except for occasional use of the royal arms—which were used because of the official nature of the publication, and were not intended as decoration.

There were five normal sizes in government printing. The standard sheet of printing paper was about 30 by 41 centimeters. Folded once and trimmed slightly, this gave a page approximately 20 by 28 centimeters, the usual folio page; folded twice, a quarto page was reached, measuring approximately 14 by 20 centimeters. For documents intended to be read aloud by criers or posted, the standard sheet was used unfolded and printed on one side, thus forming a broadside. If this was not large enough, two were pasted together, making a broadside approximately 41 by 58 centimeters; and in a few cases an extra large broadside, about 58 by 78 centimeters, was made by pasting together four regular sheets. A few government documents were published in more than one of these formats.³⁵

From time to time a viceroy complained of unauthorized pub-

³² It is not quite clear whether Hogal officially became government printer in 1767 or 1768, but he was the printer of this particular item.

³³ J. M. D., "Salvador de la Gándara," *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía*, III: 547.

³⁴ Julio Jiménez Rueda, "La Imprenta en la época colonial," *IV Centenario de la Imprenta en México* (México, 1939), pp. 593-595, p. 595.

³⁵ E.g., Checklist, No. 213.

lication of official documents. Revilla Gigedo, for instance, had trouble with the authorities of the Inquisition, who republished orders received from Spain without first securing his approval, as they were supposed to do.³⁶ He also had occasion to complain of a similar action on the part of the Bishop of Oaxaca, although in this case it is not quite clear if "publication" meant actual printing.³⁷ There was also, in this period, forgery of lottery tickets, ships' papers, passports, and other official forms.³⁸

IV

The Publication of Official Documents

Official orders had one of two types of distribution: throughout the entire governmental structure if they were of general import, or to specified individuals and places if they were of only local application. It seems likely that certain imprints consisting of statistics on exports and imports, etc., were intended chiefly for the home government.

Orders and other documents of general interest and effect were printed in fairly large numbers and sent to the *audiencias*, the intendants, governors, and probably also to local officials, both within the city and in the country. For example, Revilla Gigedo indorsed a copy of a Spanish imprint of a treaty between Spain and England in 1793, "Reprint the suitable number . . . to send the proper copies to the Sub-Inspector General, the intendants, the governors, and others. . . ."³⁹ In a letter to the home government

³⁶ Conde de Revilla Gigedo to Antonio Valdés, Reservada (Secret) No. 114, March 29, 1790, Archivo General de la Nación, Correspondencia de los virreyes, reservadas, Tomo 30, ff. 303-304.

³⁷ Same to Antonio Porlier, Muy reservada (Top secret) No. 123, February 28, 1790, *ibid.*, ff. 316-317.

³⁸ Hogal, "Informe . . .," p. 408. This report was written in connection with the application of José Francisco Dimas Rangel for a license to establish a printshop. It seems to the writer that Hogal implies that Rangel was so skillful in reproducing the special types used in lottery printing that the government ought to license—and so control—him in order to forestall possible forgery.

³⁹ Archivo General de la Nación, Bandos, Tomo 17, No. 107; see Checklist, between Nos. 256 and 257.

the same viceroy speaks of a royal order concerning commerce which he had caused to be posted "in the principal places of the kingdom" so that everyone would see it.⁴⁰ In another case, however, when the royal order concerned a specific merchant, the viceroy had it posted only in Mexico City and Veracruz, and sent copies to the officials of San Blas and the Californias.⁴¹ Some government documents were distributed to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, since the church played a part in political as well as religious control.⁴²

Orders of one sort or another were frequently also "published" orally by being read aloud in a public place by some appropriate official. There can be found in the Mexican archives a memorandum prescribing how to read aloud a *bando* declaring war,⁴³ and many of the official file copies of *bandos* in the national archives are indorsed by the person who read them aloud in the *plaza mayor*. Local officials took whatever action was appropriate upon receipt of government imprints; for example, a copy of Checklist No. 235 sent to the governor of Texas is indorsed, presumably by his secretary, "On November 2, 1793, a copy was sent to the Father President of the missions of this province, Fr. Jose Francisco Lopez."

The number of copies printed, as shown in the notes on the proof copies found, ranged from 6 to 500. The former number was of course unusual, the normal edition being about 100 to 250.⁴⁴ Occasionally copies of an older official order still in force became scarce, and a new edition was issued.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Conde de Revilla Gigedo to Diego de Gardoqui, No. 883, March 31, 1794 (draft), Archivo General de la Nación, Correspondencia de los virreyes, Tomo 21/174, f. 144. The *bando* in question (Checklist, No. 265) was not dated in Mexico until April 25. Either Revilla Gigedo was reporting as done something not yet completed or else the *bando* was first "published" in manuscript.

⁴¹ Same to same, No. 921, April 30, 1794, *ibid.*, f. 198v. (Checklist, No. 260).

⁴² Revilla Gigedo, *Instrucción reservada*, Par. 1, 184.

⁴³ Archivo General de la Nación, Bandos, Tomo 17, No. 108.

⁴⁴ Volume cited in n. 26, *passim*.

⁴⁵ E.g., the ordinance covering saloons, Checklist, No. 161; Revilla Gigedo, *Instrucción reservada*, Par. 361.

The government caused some items to be printed—a pamphlet on the raising of silkworms, for instance⁴⁶—which were intended for the encouragement of one or another crop or industry; no doubt these were published in large editions and widely distributed.

In a few cases orders, even those of a general nature, were issued in manuscript form rather than being printed or reprinted. For example, a manuscript copy of a royal order announcing a change in ministers in 1793 is found in the Mexican archives, indorsed, "This circular was distributed in manuscript. . . ."⁴⁷

Prior to 1789 the archives of the secretariat of the viceroyalty were not well kept, but the energetic and tidy Revilla Gigedo saw to it that they were put in shape. In fact, he is considered the real founder of the present national archive. Fortunately, he had an excellent secretary, Colonel Antonio Bonilla, who ably executed his master's intentions, and had the papers in the viceregal archives assembled and bound.⁴⁸ Although government imprints may now be found scattered through various subdivisions of the national archives by subject, two sections are those of primary interest in the present study. One is called "Bandos" and the other "Impresos Oficiales" (official imprints); these were intended to contain in chronological order all directives and other official papers issued by the government. Bonilla was on the whole successful in assembling these two sets for the late eighteenth century, although in a few cases he had to content himself with a manuscript page stating that no copy of the imprint listed was available; and there can be found in other places a few imprints which he missed completely.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Checklist, No. 243.

⁴⁷ Archivo General de la Nación, Bandos, Tomo 17, No. 6 bis.

⁴⁸ Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913), p. 19; Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé, "El Archivo General de la Nación . . .," *Revista de historia de América*, No. 9: 63-169 (1940), pp. 72-87.

⁴⁹ This information is drawn from direct examination of these sections of the Archivo General. The history and organization of the archive are well described in Rubio Mañé, *op. cit.*

Officials who were recipients of government documents also kept files, of course, and these were frequently bound up into volumes, many of which have in the course of time found their way into libraries and private hands. A good example is found in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, which possesses a fat volume with the binder's title, "Bandos de Revilla Gigedo," containing slightly over a hundred items. Copies of all imprints were of course sent to the home government.⁵⁰

By searching these files until we have as complete as possible a record of the official publications of a given period, we can segregate for examination a block of material which will enable us to study in detail both the format and the content of the government documents of the time. The balance of this study consists of such a body of material, presented in the form of a checklist of the imprints of the administration of the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo the younger.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Revilla Gigedo frequently mentions examples in his *Instrucción reservada*, e.g., in Par. 594, where he narrates sending the regulations for the Colotlan militia (Checklist, No. 159). In the case of a code or ordinance, royal approval was required, so copies were sent immediately to the court.

⁵¹ The checklist will be printed in the Third Quarter PAPERS. *Editor*.

Edward Everett Hale: Preacher as Publisher*

By EARLE COLEMAN

A STATUE of Edward Everett Hale in Boston's Public Gardens bears no inscription. It is the statue of a rather small man with a large head, long hair, and a very full beard, who is wearing a greatcoat and boots, and carrying the black, broad-brim, low-crown hat which helped make the man a remarkable figure wherever he went. The statue of the author of *The Man Without a Country* gives no inkling of the volume of his booming voice, which even as an old man Hale could throw from the top of the State House steps to the north side of Boston Common. The most striking fact about his life that one can learn from the monument is that he lived a long one—from 1822 to 1909.

Hale's activities during these eighty-seven years were for the most part centered around his work as a Harvard-educated Unitarian minister in Worcester and Boston, and his avocational pursuits as a man of letters. In the former rôle he took an active interest in bettering the living conditions of the poor, promoting and managing charitable organizations, and in the administration of the affairs of the church in the large. In the latter rôle—and he often preferred to think of himself as a man of letters—he wrote many stories including his best-known, *The Man Without a Country*, written during the Civil War, as well as travel books and histories for children. He also contributed prefaces and introductions or separate chapters to books varying in subject matter from Mary E. Burt's *Browning's Women* to *Apes and Monkeys, Their Life and Language*, by R. L. Garner.

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 25, 1952.

Hale also made time in his busy life to indulge an interest in antiquarian matters which probably dated from 1839, when he journeyed to Taunton to read the inscription on Dighton Rock, and took the form of active participation throughout his life in the work of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. Indeed, he acted as chairman of the Publications Committee of the latter organization from 1881 to 1906, and had been a member of the committee for the thirty preceding years.

If the statue had an inscription, it would certainly mention Hale's work on behalf of the International Court of Justice. Toward the end of his career he devoted much energy to speeches, sermons and conversations trying to convince others that peace would come to the world if only there were such a court.

Throughout his life Hale seems to have felt the need of a journal in which he could express his ideas to an audience larger than his churches would hold and larger than the book-buying segment of the population. In his early years his father's newspaper and *Monthly Chronicle* and his uncles' and brother's periodicals satisfied the need. Later the publication of his own sermons and the editorship of monthlies and weeklies afforded him another opportunity. At the same time some of his stories and articles were appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's Monthly* (which in 1875 paid him \$2,500 for a twelve-part story), *The Critic*, and other well-known magazines. He also formed a company to sell, and otherwise distribute, his sermons and stories in book form.

The story begins in the Boston household of Nathan Hale, circa 1830. Edward Everett Hale and his brothers and sisters were from the beginning of their lives involved in a world of newspapers, magazines, and books. Their father, Nathan, a nephew of the Revolutionary hero of the same name, was editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and treasurer of the Christian Examiner Society which published the *Christian Examiner*. Hale re-

corded that it was "at his [Nathan Hale's] suggestion [that] Daniel Treadwell made the first power presses which worked to advantage in this country."¹ These were presses of literally one horsepower. He also said that his father was "president of the first type foundry in New England,"² but subsequent research has established the precedence of Abel Buell, of Killingworth, Connecticut.³ The uncles of the Hale children—Oliver, Edward and Alexander Everett—were, respectively, publisher and early editors of the *North American Review*. Their mother, Sarah (Everett) Hale was the author of a number of children's readers published by Carter, Hendee and Company of Boston in the 1830's.

The children had their own newspaper called *The Fly*, printed by them for the family circle. Hale liked to reminisce that *The Fly* was the first newspaper in Boston to announce the death of Lafayette. This scoop, which appeared in the last number, was not quite accurate, however. They had to say that the General died of a cold because they did not have enough "n" 's and "u" 's for "influenza." Not to be outdone by either their father or their mother, the children wrote and printed with type from Mr. Hale's printing office a library of small books—like the newspaper about four inches square—containing stories for children. The history of the first and second works written by Edward Everett Hale for general publication is contained in his diary entry for November 4, 1839, when he was seventeen years old and had recently finished his undergraduate work at Harvard.

I finished this evening my first complete literary work. Carter had given Mother some pictures and letter press which he wished made up into picture books, and I asked leave to fix one of them . . . I went to work . . . taking my share of the pictures and about twenty pages of letter press,

¹ Edward Everett Hale, *A New England Boyhood* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1927), p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt in Collaboration with Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver, *The Book in America* . . . Second Edition (New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), pp. 19-20.

most of which was a story I wrote for one of Mother's books last year. With these I have made up a book of about sixty pages, most of it written anew. I finished it tonight. It will be published this fall under the title of "Jemmy's Journey."⁴

Five years earlier Hale had made daily trips to his father's book office where he "learned the case and all the processes of imposing scientifically."⁵

For six years after he left Harvard Hale studied at home for the ministry. Then, in April 1845, he preached a sermon at the Church of the Unity in Worcester and was asked to stay. He did so until 1856 when he returned to Boston to take over the pulpit of the South Congregational Church. In 1852 Hale had married Emily Perkins of Hartford, a niece of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher, and a sister of Frederic Beecher Perkins, who was later to help Hale edit *Old And New*, a monthly magazine.

Old And New was the first magazine of which Hale was an active launcher. His purpose in founding it, and the purpose of the American Unitarian Association which coöperated with him, was to establish a successor to the *Christian Examiner*. As editor, Hale considered that the ideal number would consist of

one article of solid theology, one of ecclesiastical or other religious order, one of social science, one of natural science, 30 pages of good reviews, 20 pages of social progress . . . [in his later publications Hale still retained the notion that social progress is measurable] and the rest the most entertaining matter that can be put in.⁶

Some of the outstanding contributors were the Reverend James Martineau of England, Robert Dale Owen, William Cullen Bryant, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charles Dudley Warner, and

⁴ Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1917), Vol. I, p. 68.

⁵ *A New England Boyhood*, p. 61.

⁶ Edward Everett Hale to Henry W. Bellows, January 31, 1873; in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The large collection of Bellows papers in the Society has many letters from Hale regarding *Old And New*, Antioch College, and other Unitarian affairs.

Sarah Helen Whitman. Any department might have a contribution from the editor.

The managerial setup of the new work was to be similar to that of its predecessor—a group of individuals forming a corporation, plus financial assistance from the American Unitarian Association. At one point Hale was greatly tempted by a proposal from James T. Fields to sell the *North American Review* and unite it with *Old And New*. On November 25, 1869, Hale informed his friend William B. Weeden, a wealthy manufacturer in Providence:

They [the American Unitarian Association] lend us \$8000. They take their interest in advertising at the same rates other people pay. This was a master stroke of mine. We are credited at wholesale prices for all we deliver, to pay the people who have paid for their Journal in advance, —and for any other copies they order. The rest we are to pay in sums of \$1000 a year, when our circulation comes to average 13000 copies a month for one year. If it does not come to that in three years we are never to pay.⁷

Early in December he received an order from Chicago for fifteen hundred copies, and A. Williams, who had recently bought the Old Corner Bookstore from E. P. Dutton, and was the Boston agent for Harper's schoolbooks, had ordered twelve thousand copies of the first number. Hale commented, "Easy enough to get rid of *them*. The drag will be on No. 2 after my heavy dose of theology in No. 1."⁸ On December 15, 1869 an organization known as the Proprietors of *Old And New* came into existence with a capital stock of eight thousand dollars and a loan from the A. U. A. of the same amount. On the same day Editor Hale read the proof of Number One, and twenty-four hours later the fifteen hundred copies were on the way to Chicago. The total edition of eighteen thousand was printed and distributed at a cost of four thousand dollars by H. O. Houghton, who was also the printer and distributor of the next five issues. Then the magazine

⁷ *Life and Letters*, II: 106-107.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

was moved to Roberts Brothers where, instead of paying nearly \$2,400 semi-annually in commissions, the Proprietors paid \$1,400 per year for rent and a clerk. At this time, also, Hale arranged for Sampson Low, Son, & Marston to be the London agents. *Old And New* remained at Roberts Brothers for four and one half years. In January, 1875 they moved to the "Elegant Establishment of Lee & Shepard" under whose imprint the last five numbers were issued.

The Proprietors made a number of other changes in their business arrangements during the magazine's career of five years and five months. The capital stock was increased at various intervals until it reached a total of \$37,000. An increase of \$12,000 came when August Brentano and the American News Company—one of their best customers from the beginning—were added to the imprint. At the end of 1872 the Unitarian Association withdrew its support, and the Boston fire added to *Old And New's* woes by destroying its printer, its papermaker, and some of the subscribers to its stock. One hundred new shares were issued. In September, 1873, August Brentano and the American News Company were dropped from the imprint, and from that time until the removal to Lee & Shepard the trade was supplied by F. B. Perkins, Hale's brother-in-law. Financial troubles came also at the end of 1873, when the financial panic deranged everything just as *Old And New* was coming into what Hale called its "money-making months—November and December."

The only information I have found regarding any payment to authors is contained in a letter to the Reverend James Martineau, who was offered one thousand dollars in gold for a series of ten papers,⁹—papers which lost the magazine five hundred readers in this country and gained for it one hundred fifty in England. As

⁹ *Ibid.*, II:113. "Hale procured serials from George MacDonald and Anthony Trollope to counterbalance James Martineau's *The Transient and the Permanent in Religion*, but they were no credit to either novelist." Raymond L. Kilgour, *Messrs. Roberts Brothers: Publishers* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1952), p. 94. *Editor*.

regards Hale's own remuneration, in his estimate of expenses for the first six months he included an item of \$750 for the editor. But in a letter dated November 7, 1873 he confided to Henry W. Bellows, a fellow minister and proprietor: "I have never drawn a dollar from the journal except to spend upon it. It has probably cost me \$1,500 a year. I do not regret this . . . I know that it has given me reputation and influence. But I do not want to have it dependent on an unpaid editor."

Because he wished to increase circulation he acquiesced when Perkins and others insisted, after the withdrawal of the Unitarian Association, that the tone of *Old And New* be made as popular as possible. He understood that "The people who praise the careful articles are Professors of Colleges who read it in the Free Reading Rooms to which you give it,—or Editors of Newspapers to whom it is sent in exchange."¹⁰ Apparently the magazine could not live down its reputation. Two-and-one-half years after popularization set in *Old And New* was merged with one of its livelier competitors, *Scribner's Monthly*.

The next publishing venture in which Hale had an important part was the publication of four series of his own sermons. Prior to November 1878, only a relatively few which were of special interest to a certain group or organization had been published. The idea of publishing sermons in series did not originate with Hale. The first series, by Unitarian ministers, had been started in 1827, and as an exemplar for the publication of series of the sermons of one man he had the *Plymouth Pulpit* of Henry Ward Beecher, his uncle by marriage. With very few exceptions Hale's sermons had been preached at his own church, the South Congregational in Boston. All were first published as separates, and the majority of these were ready for distribution in church on the Sunday following that on which they were preached. The price was generally ten cents for each, or one dollar for the series. An

¹⁰ Edward Everett Hale to Henry W. Bellows, January 31, 1873; in Massachusetts Historical Society.

overrun of each of the sermons in the first three series was printed so that the separates could later be bound and sold to the general public in book form. The sermons in the last three series were also printed as books and advertised for sale outside the church. Consequently, all four series could be purchased as separates, or by subscription. Three could be bought as separates bound together, and three as printed books.¹¹

In his introductory note in *June To May*, the last book in the series, Dr. Hale writes:

Every parish minister will understand that there is a certain convenience in having in print a few copies of a sermon, which he may wish to send to some who did not hear it. This convenience has been enough to justify the continuation of this series.

For the additional convenience of preservation, a few copies are now bound and published together . . .”

As his first literary contribution to *Old And New* Hale wrote the story “Ten Times One Is Ten,” about ten people who learned that one man had done something for each one of them that had awakened his feeling of gratitude and respect toward the single individual — Harry Wadsworth in the tale. The ten resolved to do a similar deed for ten people, and to urge these one hundred to carry on the work so that in time the whole world would be engaged in the project. Sunday-school teachers became enthusiastic about the idea, and formed philanthropical clubs in their classes with such names as The Commercial Temperance League, King’s

¹¹ The titles of the books containing the sermons in these four series are: *From Thanksgiving To Fast. Fifteen Sermons* . . . Boston, Geo. H. Ellis . . . 1879.

From Fast To Christmas. Sixteen Sermons . . . Boston, George H. Ellis . . . 1880. [At first advertised as *May to November*.]

New Year To Midsummer. Twenty Sermons . . . Boston, George H. Ellis . . . 1880.

The Life In Common And Twenty Other Sermons . . . Boston, Roberts Brothers . . . 1880. [With some exceptions these are the sermons in *From Fast To Christmas* . . .]

The Kingdom Of God And Twenty Other Sermons . . . Boston, Roberts Brothers . . . 1880. [This book and the one preceding were published simultaneously. With the exception of the first one these are the sermons in *New Year To Midsummer* . . .]

June To May . . . Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1881. [Twenty-five sermons in all.]

Daughters, Ten Times One, and the Look-Up Legion, which later became the Epworth League in Methodist churches. Early in the 1880's general conventions of these clubs were held at Lake Chautauqua, at the instigation of Mary A. Lathbury, leader of the Look-Up Legion, and sometimes known as the "Poet of Chautauqua." Hale commented once regarding the Chautauqua gatherings, "The deficiency of the place, as of most watering places, is that the men whom it attracts seem to be quite inferior to the women."¹² At one of these meetings the club leaders voted to publish monthly circulars which were issued during 1882 and 1883 by the Welcome and Correspondence Club of Hale's church. Three years later it was decided to enlarge the circulars into a magazine. When the man who was originally chosen as editor died, Hale was named for the job. He soon set up his headquarters at 3 Hamilton Place in Boston.

This office, which was to become his favorite place for day-time cat-naps, had a dual rôle. Besides being the central office for the clubs, the various publishing and selling activities relating to the work of the clubs were carried on there under the name J. Stilman Smith & Company. Smith was a retired preacher who for several years previous to his association with Hale had been the subscription agent of Daniel Lothrop. The incorporation of the club-managing part of the enterprise, under the name Ten Times One Association, was accomplished in 1892. In December 1894, J. Stilman Smith & Company, though it continued this style in its imprint, became the Lend A Hand Publishing Company with a capital stock of seven thousand dollars. Smith & Company were needed by Hale primarily to assist him in getting out the monthly *Lend A Hand*, published from January 1886 until January 1897. While the theme of its stories was invariably some aspect of doing good, its articles covered an amazing variety of subjects, from profit-sharing and labor relations to Helen Keller and the situation of the American Indian. In it was published the Platform of

¹² *Life and Letters*, II: 324.

the Society of Christian Socialists. In time it became the organ of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship and the Ramabai Association, an organization to promote the education of highcaste widows in India. It also carried reviews or lists of philanthropic publications, and published examples of charitable deeds and news of club activities. It was a magazine levelled primarily at women readers.

Another company function was the procurement and distribution of the multitudinous badges, membership cards, placards, and programs required by the nearly one thousand corresponding clubs. These were repeatedly advertised in *Lend A Hand*, and either given away or sold for a nominal sum.

J. Stilman Smith & Company was also a publisher and seller of books. As such its list was made up chiefly of Hale's works, some of them reprints, though the company was the first publisher of some twenty of his books. About five of these were stories published in small books which were sent as Christmas presents to the clubs to remind them to pay their dues of ten cents per person per year, and to be listed at the central office. The "Tell It Again" Series of six small books was issued in 1895 with the imprint of J. Stilman Smith or of the Lend A Hand Society and advertised as an ideal Christmas gift. Later they were advertised as an ideal Easter gift, and in November 1896 they were given away as subscription premiums. One is not surprised to find J. Stilman Smith publishing three books of Hale's sermons. The rest were stories or works on social problems of the times. The Company also sold certain of Hale's books which had been published by other companies. One of these was Roberts Brothers, and according to a letter of Hale's Smith & Company paid them forty per cent for each book sold.¹³

As with *Old And New*, Hale's efforts in behalf of *Lend A Hand* were not sufficient to keep the magazine on a sound financial foot-

¹³ Edward Everett Hale to Nathaniel Paine, January 6, 1886; in American Antiquarian Society.

ing. He continually asked the clubs for more subscribers. He used such devices as clubbing with other magazines, and offering subscription premiums including not only books, as one would expect, but alarm clocks and pictures of himself suitable for framing. Toward the end he asked business friends of the Ten Times One Association to increase their advertising. In spite of all his pleas, however, twelve years after its first issue *Lend A Hand* merged with *Charities Review*.

Hale often acknowledged that he was not a business man. We might think that since he was a minister, he would tend to be lenient regarding commercial transactions. We must remember he was also a New Englander. Twice he began legal proceedings to protect what he thought were his rights in *The Man Without a Country*.¹⁴ In the 1890's he had form letters printed and sent to his various publishers, asking them to remit a statement of the royalties due him. Nevertheless, it appears to be true that, as his son Edward Everett Hale, Jr., says, "He had at no time of his life, been a thorough business man. . ."¹⁵ A card sent out in 1902 by the Hale Celebration Committee headed by Augustus P. Loring speaks for itself. It reads in part: "It is hoped to raise a fund in connection with the celebration of Dr. Edward Everett Hale's eightieth birthday, sufficient to free him from pecuniary anxiety during his declining years. It is hoped to raise \$25,000 . . ." An inventory of his estate made a year after his death shows a personal estate valued at about \$31,500, and real estate valued at ninety-six hundred dollars.

Hale's motives in carrying out his three publishing ventures seem to be clear. His desire to prove himself a man of letters and a man who knew the reading tastes of the American people is exhibited in *Old And New*; publication of his sermons shows his concern with the spreading of his theological beliefs and "affec-

¹⁴ *Publishers' Weekly*, XXXIV, no. 22, p. 885, Dec. 1, 1888; XXXV, no. 2, p. 24, Jan. 12, 1889.

¹⁵ *Life and Letters*, II: 369.

tionate counsels;" while J. Stilman Smith & Company was a result of his desire to reform and promote philanthropy. As a business man and publisher he was not a notable success. As a preacher and publisher his success is indeterminable.

Bibliographical Notes

A Prêtre Jean from Poitiers

The Pierpont Morgan Library a year ago acquired the only recorded copy of an edition of *Prêtre Jean* which, if not completely unknown to the scholarly world, has certainly not been adequately examined from a bibliographical point of view. It may be described in these terms:

Joannes Presbyter (Prester John).

De ritu et moribus Indorum. In French. [Poitiers: Jean Bouyer and Pierre Bellescullée, 1491].

Brunet IV: 119.

4°. 14 leaves, the first blank. a⁸b⁶, with a₃ signed a₂ and b₃ signed b₂. 25 lines. Type-page (f. 4^v): 134 x 78 mm. Type 2*:106G (with both M³⁸ and M⁴).

f. 1, blank. 2: Cy apres sensuyuent les nouuel||les de la terre de prestre iehan || Prestre iehan par la grace de dieu roy || sur tous les roys xpistiens . . . 9 - b1: places et est leurs marchandise dor dar-|| . . . (ends 14 - b6^v, l. 23): . . . Dieu vo' || doit perseuerer en la grace du saīt esperit || Amen ||

The only recorded copy is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (*Check List* no. 1596A). It measures 181 x 120 mm. and was bound by Trautz-Bauzonnet in green morocco, gilt. It was successively in the collections of La Vallière (*Catalogue des livres*, Paris, 1783, III, 317, no. 5394), Walckenaer (*Catalogue des livres*, Paris, 1853, p. 473, no. 5759), Solar (*Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, Paris, 1860, p. 406, no. 2487), and La Roche Lacarelle (*Catalogue des livres rares*, Paris, 1888, p. 152, no. 454). It was purchased by the Morgan Library in May, 1951, and now has the Accession Number 42483.

The type, which provides not only the identification of the press but also the approximate date of printing, is that shown on plate 68 of Anatole Claudin, *Monuments de l'imprimerie à Poitiers*, Paris, 1897. The plate shows a *Missale Redonense seu Macloviense* (Rennes or St.-Malo), concerning which Claudin reports: "Imprimé avec les caractères de Poitiers très usés mélangés de lettres capitales des premières impressions d'Angers." In his discussion of this *Missal* (*Origines et débuts de l'imprimerie à Poitiers*, Paris, 1897, pp. 77-78), Claudin pointed out that this book must have

been printed after the Angers *Horae* of 1488-1489 (Claudin XIV) and before the second edition of the same *Missal* (Paris, 10 January 1492/3—HC 11360). The book, and necessarily the type with which it was printed, are assigned by Claudin-De Ricci (*Documents sur la typographie et la gravure en France aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, London, 1926, plate 429) to the press of Jean Bouyer and Pierre Bellescullée; these printers are known to have worked together in 1489-1491. By 12 September 1491, Bouyer had found a new partner in Guillaume Bouchet, a press which continued in operation (but with other types) until well into the sixteenth century. With as much certainty as one may claim for typological deductions, it seems clear that the Prêtre Jean was printed at Poitiers by the only firm known to have used this type (Bouyer and Bellescullée) and at the only period (circa 1491) when they employed it. The type, of course, may have remained in the hands of Bellescullée after he and Bouyer had parted company—but if the former issued anything under his own imprint after that date, it is not known to the bibliographical world. Bellescullée had, of course, previously worked at Rennes in 1485 (Proctor, II, 638), but there is no record of any book signed by him after 1491.

The first descriptive notice of this edition of Prêtre Jean was published by Pierre Jannet and Georges Duplessis; in 1853, they referred to what is certainly this copy in the appendix to their edition of Philippe d'Alcripe, *La nouvelle fabrique* (Paris, 1853). The volume was then in the hands of "M. Potier, libraire" who was also the publisher of the Walckenaer sale catalogue and who had apparently permitted the editors to examine and use the copy just prior to the sale. On pages 190-191 of this work mention is made of the copy now in the Morgan Library as well as the one issued by Jean Trepperel, which will be listed below. The following interesting comment on the Poitiers Prêtre Jean deserves our attention:

Ces deux éditions sont très différentes d'aspect extérieur, de texte et d'orthographe. La première [Morgan] paraît être la plus ancienne. Dans la seconde le langage est évidemment rajeuni. La première doit être de la fin du quinzième siècle (de 1490 à 1495); la seconde a été probablement imprimée de 1500 à 1520.

Ces deux éditions offrent certainement en général la traduction française du même original; mais elles présentent aussi de nombreuses variantes. La première, moins complète dans quelques menus détails, contient un passage assez long qui a été omis dans la seconde.

A modernized text, based mainly on the Trepperel edition, is included in the volume, with the long passage from the Poitiers edition inserted in the text on pages 209-211.

In the course of cataloguing the present volume, the writer came across the scattered references to nine other early editions of *Prêtre Jean*, which are here listed for the convenience of those interested in this text. Six editions are included in the unprinted section of Pellechet-Polain, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*; two of these editions are more fully described in the catalogue of the Musée Condé at Chantilly. The list given below is definitely *not* a chronological one; similarly, no attempt was made by Polain to date the editions known to him. So as to emphasize the fact that the order of listing implies no priority of issue, the items remain unnumbered, though supplied with letters for the sake of convenience:

- (a) Paris: Jean Trepperel, [no date]
Pell-Polain 9723. Copy: Chantilly, Musée Condé
- (b) [Angers or Poitiers: unassigned, no date]
Pell-Polain 9724. Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (fragment of 2 folios)
- (c) [Lyons: Printer of the *Complainte de l'âme damnée*, no date]
Pell-Polain 9725. Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- (d) [Paris: Pierre Le Rouge, no date]
Pell-Polain 9726. Copy: Paris, Ste-Geneviève
- (e) [Lyons: Guillaume Le Roy, no date]
Pell-Polain 9727. Copies: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Chantilly, Musée Condé
- (f) [Paris]: Jean Dupré, [no date]
Pell-Polain 9728. Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- (g) [Lyons: Jean de la Fontaine, no date—c. 1490?]
Chadenat Sale (April, 1951), no. 6095. Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- (h) Paris: Le Petit Laurens, [no date]
Brunet IV: 119. Copy: none located
- (i) Rouen: R. Auzoult for R. Rogerie, [no date—? 1505]
BMC (Th:Fr), p. 245. Copy: London, British Museum

Two points worth noting *suggest* that the Morgan *Prêtre Jean* is one of the earliest—possibly the very earliest—of the ten recorded editions. The Poitiers printing contains more leaves than the other editions (the

number of leaves often decreasing with later reprintings); furthermore, it is the *only* fifteenth-century edition without a title-page (an innovation often not found in the earliest printings).

Finally it is worth emphasizing the rarity of these early editions of Prêtre Jean. Only in one case is an edition represented by more than a single copy or fragment thereof. This certainly suggests that many more printings were issued in the fifteenth century than are known to us now, copies of which were (perhaps) simply "read" out of existence.

Pierpont Morgan Library

CURT F. BÜHLER

Castillo Solórzano's "Garduña de Sevilla" in English Translation

Castillo Solórzano's novel *La Garduña de Sevilla*, published in Madrid in 1642, was first translated into English in 1665 by John Davies of Kidwelly, who announced in his preface that he had worked not from the original Spanish but rather from a French translation. Davies called his own version *La Picara, or the triumphs of female subtilty*, and did not identify the intermediary, other than to say that it was by "one of the most refin'd wits of France." *La Fouyne de Séville* (Paris, L. Bilaine, 1661), the only French translation of *La Garduña* to be published in the seventeenth century, is undoubtedly the work in question. Its "Avis au lecteur" stated quite definitely that the Spanish tale was:

traduit en françois par feu Monsieur Douville, qui certainement estoit l'homme de toute la France, qui parloit le mieux espagnol, & qui connoissoit le plus parfaitement toutes les graces de cette langue. Mais comme il n'escrivoit peut-estre pas assez purement en la nostre, un des plus delicats esprits du siècle, qui a trouvé apres sa mort cette traduction parmy ses papiers, en a corrigé le stile, & n'en voulant pas priver le public, il a tasché de luy rendre toutes les graces qu'il auroit pû dérober à son auteur . . .

The other hand involved may be that of D'Ouville's brother, Boisrobert, who survived him and was in a sense his literary executor. Each of the brothers, it should be noted, has been credited with the translation by reputable bibliographers.

Most library catalogues and pertinent bibliographies list the 1665 text as the first and only edition of Davies' English translation. In making a general study of the ensemble of Davies' translations from the French (PAPERS, XLIV [1950], 119-152; see especially pp. 145-146) I have already called attention to certain later reprintings of material taken from

this Restoration translation. Sufficient new material has turned up to merit a further note on the subject.

The earliest borrowing from Davies was made by that inveterate pirate, Sir Roger L'Estrange, who included five stories out of *La Picara* in his *Spanish Decameron*, first published in 1687. The last five stories in L'Estrange's collection (pp. 329-587) are lifted almost directly out of the earlier English version,¹ the only departures from Davies being the changing of all proper names, and the very rare alteration, omission, or addition of a word or phrase. On two or three occasions, a brief passage is added or deleted from the 1665 text. L'Estrange's borrowing, which is nowhere acknowledged, extends even to Davies' preface of which he incorporated a generous portion in his own foreword.²

After having stumbled on to the nature of L'Estrange's borrowings myself, I later found that they had already been pointed out by Sir Henry Thomas in his "Bibliographical Notes" (*Revue hispanique*, XLV [1919], 1-11). Thomas, however, gave no indication of the success of L'Estrange's collection. I have discovered the following editions:

[First edition:] *The Spanish Decameron: or, ten novels . . .*

For Simon Neale: London, 1687.

8°. Pp. ii + 587.

[No second edition yet discovered.]

Third edition: By E. P. for Geo. Harris: London, 1712.

12°. Pp. ii + 432.

Fourth edition: For Jonah Bowyer: London, 1720.

12°. Pp. ii + 380.

L'Estrange's ill-gotten popularity did not stop there. In 1717, John Ozell once again used Davies' text—at least that part of it which had appeared in the *Spanish Decameron*—in a new version of Castillo Solórzano's classic, this time called *The Spanish Pole-Cat*. Ozell fitted L'Estrange's borrowings back into their proper place in the novel, the text of which he once again gave complete. For those portions which were not in the

¹ L'Estrange used the inserted "novels" and two other extended passages from Davies to form "Novels" VI-X of his collection. Novels VI-VIII are Davies' Novels I-III. Novel IX reproduces pp. 30-62 of the main text of Davies' book. Novel X uses the main text's pp. 63-67, 116-141 (the intervening passage here had already been used to form Novel VI).

² The title page specifically states that the stories are "made English by Sir Roger L'Estrange." In his preface, L'Estrange is brazen enough to lift directly Davies' own comment from *La Picara's* foreword: "I have done it out of . . . [French] with a freedom of alteration and addition as my fancy led me . . ."

Spanish Decameron he gave a new translation which, as far as I can discover, owes nothing to Davies. The preface to the second edition of the *Pole-Cat* states that Ozell, too, had used the French version, rather than the Spanish original, for those parts which he translated anew.

This new work, a kind of grandchild of Davies' 1665 translation, was itself successful. I have already located the following editions and do not despair of finding still others:

[First edition:] *The Spanish Pole-Cat: or, the Adventures of Seniors Rufina . . . Written originally in Spanish, by Castillo Savorcano. Begun to be translated by Sir Roger L'Estrange; and finish'd by Mr. Ozell.*

For E. Curll and W. Taylor: London, 1717.

12°. Pp. 394.

Second edition: *Spanish Amusements: or, the Adventures of that celebrated courtesan Seniors Rufina call'd the Pole-Cat of Seville . . . The second edition.*

For H. Curll: London, 1727.

12°. Pp. i + 394.

[Really a re-issue or a re-impression of the 1717 edition, with a new title-page and the addition of a one-page preface.]

Third edition: *Spanish Amusements . . . The third edition.*

For E. Curll: London, 1741.

12°. Pp. 394.

[Likewise a re-issue or re-impression of the first edition.]

Ozell was not alone among his contemporaries in showing an interest in *La Picara*. Another pirate, one "Mr. E. W." (later identified as Edward Waldron) was to draw on Castillo Solórzano's tale, and this time directly and exclusively of Davies' text. This different version appeared as:

The Life of Donna Rosina . . . Originally a Spanish Relation . . . Done into English by . . . Mr. E. W. a known and celebrated Author.

By B. Harris: London [no date, but Plomer states that Harris was publishing at the address indicated on this title-page *circa* 1703].

12°. Pp. ii + 157.

The "three pleasant novels," interspersed throughout the original, are here omitted; a few sentences before and after these omissions are re-written so as to assure the smooth flow of the narrative; a very few words are changed evidently for stylistic reasons; the concluding sentences are

altered to make the end of the story "moral." With these exceptions, "Mr. E. W." has simply reproduced the 1665 version.

I had earlier supposed that this particular text was a theft which had found little public favor and had passed almost unnoticed, until I came across recently in the British Museum a late eighteenth-century Irish edition which reproduces exactly the London text and bears the title:

The Spanish Rogues: being the History of Donna Rosina . . . Translated from the Spanish, by Edward Waldron, Esq. of Lincoln-Inn. The Thirteenth edition.

By Thomas M'Donnel: Dublin, 1792.

12°. Pp. 180.

All my attempts to locate editions two through twelve have proved fruitless. Nor have I discovered any further information about Waldron who, it will be remembered, was identified by only his initials in the first edition of *circa* 1703.

The success of *La Picara* did not stop there. Waldron, it should be said, had omitted the three interspersed tales when he published his *Life of Donna Rosina*. One of his contemporaries, or just possibly Waldron himself grown a little more honest, saw fit to do some slight retouching of an occasional phrase or sentence and to bring out a new edition of the Davies' text of just these three stories, under the title of:

Three Ingenious Spanish Novels: Namely, I. The Loving Revenge: or, Wit in a Woman. II. The Lucky Escape: or, the Jilt Detected. III. The Witty Extravagant: or, the Fortunate Lover . . .³ Written by . . . Savorsano . . . Render'd into French . . . Translated with Advantage . . . The Second Edition.

For E. Tracy: London, 1712.

Pp. ii + 162.

There is a brief preface, taken in part from Davies' introduction to *La Picara* and signed "J.D.", but containing no mention of any earlier edition of the whole or of parts of the tale. I know of no first edition of this text. It may be that the publisher meant to imply that the first edition was that of 1665, and that he was assigning at least an obscure credit to Davies in printing the signature "J.D."

The history of Davies' *La Picara* is indeed a prosperous one. It may be summarized thus:

³ In Davies these are Novels III, I, II—in that order.

Castillos Solórzano's *Garduña de Sevilla* (Madrid, 1642)

La Fouyne de Séville (Paris, 1661)

La Picara, London, 1665 (Tr. by John Davies of Kidwelly)

L'Estrange's *Spanish Decameron* (London, 1687, 1712, 1720)

[Novels VI-X]

Ozell's *Spanish Pole-Cat* (London, 1717)

Ozell's *Spanish Amusements* (London, 1727, 1741)

Main story only:

The Life of Donna Rosina
(London, [c. 1703])

Three inserted "Novels" only:

Three Ingenious Spanish Novels
(London, 1712)

How can one explain this vitality of Davies' translation in view of the fact that D'Ouville's *La Fouyne de Séville*, the French intermediary, was itself considerably less popular and had to wait until 1723 for a second edition (and this with extensive revisions)? The fast-moving, realistic tale like Castillo Solórzano's was certainly popular on both sides of the Channel in this period.⁴ May not the difference be attributed to a kind of literary chauvinism discernible in Louis XIV's France? The vogue for things Spanish had certainly lessened, and the generation of 1660 in France showed itself appreciably less fond of literary importations from Spain than had been the contemporaries of the Fronde. In England, however, the Spanish borrowings—especially the picaresque—appear to have continued in vogue, right through the century. The eighteenth century in both countries, of course, was to witness a lively interest in transplanted Spanish fiction.

It is certainly time to correct the many histories, bibliographies and catalogues where John Davies' *La Picara* is cited as having had no further success in the publishing world after its first edition of 1665. We have been able to point to at least nine other volumes which owe a considerable portion, if not all their English text, to John Davies of Kidwelly. These editions, and we have undoubtedly not listed them all, were to keep Castillo Solórzano's lively tale before the English reading public until the very end of the eighteenth century.

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⁴ See D. Mornet, *Histoire de la littérature française classique* (Paris, Colin, 1947), especially pp. 307-309, and Ernest A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel* (Vol. III, London, Witherby, 1929), p. 44 ff.

Notes on Turkish Bibliography

In January 1952 the Turkish Copyright Office was transferred from İstanbul to the new (founded 1948) Turkish National Library (Millî Kütüphane) in Ankara. At the same time the National Library acquired the responsibility for publishing the *Türkiye Bibliyografyası*, the Turkish national bibliography which goes back to 1928. At the time of this important change it would seem appropriate to review the development of Turkish bibliography and note some of the important landmarks.

There is an exhaustive treatment of the most important of all Turkish bibliographers, Kâtip Çelebi (also called Hacı Halife; entered as Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh by the British Museum) in *Bibliyotekçinin elkitabı* (Ankara, Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947-48; 2 v.) by Adnan Ötüken, director of the National Library. Kâtip Çelebi (1609-1657) was the most distinguished polygrapher of the seventeenth century in the Ottoman Empire; and his great work is the *Kesf-el-Zunun*, a bibliographical and encyclopedic dictionary in Arabic on which he labored for twenty years and in which he attempted to include the titles of all known Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books. It was completed shortly before his death in 1654. For western Europeans the most important edition is the one in seven volumes by Gustav Fluegel, captioned *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum* (London, Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1835-58), in Arabic and Latin. Equally, if not more important for orientalists is the edition by Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Rifat Bilge (İstanbul, Maarif Matbaası, 1941-43; 2 v.). Other editions have been published in Bülāk (Cairo) in 1858 and in İstanbul in 1892-93. While Kâtip Çelebi's attempt at a universal bibliography was no more nor less complete than those of contemporary western Europeans, he did have at his disposal the remarkable collections of the libraries of İstanbul, in which the Ottoman padishahs and the officials of their far-flung empire had deposited the greatest collection of oriental books in existence.

Ötüken lists no less than five attempts to bring Kâtip Çelebi's great work up to date. The most recent and most important was that of Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa (d. 1920), whose *Kesf-el-Zunun Zeyli* (İstanbul, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1945-47) was also edited by Yaltkaya and Bilge.

No note on Ottoman bibliography would be complete without some indication of the work of western European scholars and librarians in the nineteenth century. Although there were Americans in abundance in the Near East in the nineteenth century—missionaries, traders, adventurers—none of them had the scholarly interests and foresight to collect

oriental manuscripts for the great libraries of their homeland, and none produced any great scholarly works such as those of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and Elias John Wilkinson Gibb. The work of these two scholars is important for bibliography as indicated by their titles. Hammer's famous *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven* (Pest, C. A. Hartleben, 1827-35, in ten volumes;¹ second edition, *ibid.*, 1834-36, in four volumes) and Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, Luzac, 1900-09; 6 v.) are indispensable bibliographical tools. Similarly, the catalogues of the Turkish manuscripts in the great libraries of Western Europe are as important as anything of the sort that has been published in Turkey thus far. Especially significant are those for the British Museum (by Rieu, 1888), the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek (by Pertsch, 1889), the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek (by Flügel, 1856), the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (by Blochet, 1900), and Cambridge University (collection presented by Gibb's widow; by E. G. Browne, 1906).

At present the Turkish Ministry of Education (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı) is publishing several series of catalogues of manuscripts in the libraries of İstanbul, still the richest depository for Turkish, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts anywhere in the Near East. The program was initiated in 1943 with what purports to be a comprehensive catalogue of all Turkish historical manuscripts in the libraries of İstanbul, captioned *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqlari. 1. Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları*. Ten fascicles have been issued thus far. Another series covering Turkish divans is entitled *İstanbul Kitapları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*. It was begun in 1947, and only one volume has appeared thus far. The catalogues are very slow in appearing, and some orientalists have not been altogether satisfied with the quality of the work. Presumably other series will be issued to cover other *genres*. However, thus far no program exists for publishing the catalogues of manuscripts of provincial libraries. Many of them, for example the noble collection in the Mevlâna Museum in Konya, are of utmost importance for oriental scholarship.

The National Library in Ankara has already embarked on a program of microfilming the most valuable manuscripts in Turkish libraries; but it cannot hope to do a fully effective job until comprehensive and accurate catalogues are available. The Süleymaniye Library in İstanbul also possesses a photographic laboratory that would be the pride of any great American library. Any foreign scholar may order microfilm from ei-

¹ Volume VII includes a chronological list of all the books printed at Constantinople.

ther of these two laboratories at nominal rates. Permission of the Ministry of Education is necessary before microfilms of manuscripts are provided, but it is invariably given. For those libraries not under the Ministry (e.g., the General Library of the University of İstanbul and the library of the Topkapi Sarayı) permission of appropriate administrative authorities is also necessary, but again there is never any trouble in securing it.

The bibliography of Turkish "incunabula" (books printed between 1729, date of the introduction of printing in Turkish in İstanbul, and 1928, date of the shift to the Latin alphabet) is quite tortuous. One of the most urgent of desiderata in Turkish bibliography is a short-title catalogue giving locations for the some 30,000 books falling within this category. We are fairly well informed about the first printer, the Hungarian Moslem İbrahim Müteferrika, who came to İstanbul at the invitation of Sultan Ahmet III to found a printing house. It is of some interest to note that most of İbrahim's books may still be bought in İstanbul for two to ten dollars. The first book printed in Turkish in İstanbul, the Vankulu translation of the Gauhari Arabic dictionary, may be had for about ten dollars; but the great *Cihannüma* (world atlas) and the Turkish grammar will command from fifty to a hundred dollars, generally depending on the purchaser's bargaining ability, oriental style. Of the numerous works on İbrahim in Turkish as well as in western European languages the most important is that of Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı. I. Müteferrika Matbaası* (İstanbul, Devlet Basımevi, 1939), which lists all of İbrahim's books and includes many facsimiles. Gerçek is also the author of the best work published thus far on Turkish newspapers, *Türk Gazeteciliği, 1831-1931* (İstanbul, Devlet Basımevi, 1931), but it is fundamentally an introductory survey. A union list of Turkish newspapers, probably with an editorial office in the Belediye Library of İstanbul (which owns the best collection in existence), is needed as badly as a short-title list of Turkish "incunabula").

After the establishment of a second press in Osküdar in the latter part of the eighteenth century, printing went ahead rather haltingly until the middle of the following century. It is interesting to note that one of the most important presses for producing Turkish books during this period was in Egypt. The French had introduced printing to Egypt in 1798, first on shipboard, then on dry land; but Egypt's first indigenous printing house was established by Mohammed-Ali in Bülâk, the harbor of Cairo, in 1821. It produced official documents and books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French, and English. The French diplomat, Thomas-

Xavier de Bianchi, compiled a "Catalogue général et détaillé des livres arabes, persans et turcs imprimés à Boulac en Egypte depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays, en 1822 [*sic*] jusqu'en 1842," in: *Journal asiatique*, ser. 4, II (1843), 24 *et seq.*

Bianchi then began to publish in the *Journal asiatique* an important series of bibliographies, which amounted to a current Turkish national bibliography beginning with 1856. The first was entitled "Bibliographie ottomane, ou notice des ouvrages publiés dans les imprimeries turques de Constantinople, et en partie dans celles de Boulac, en Egypte, depuis les derniers mois de 1856 jusqu'à ce moment," ser. 5, XIII (1859), 519-555, with supplements carrying bibliography as far as H. 1280 (1863/64), *viz.*, ser. 5, XIV (1859), 287-298; ser. 5, XVI (1860), 323-346; and ser. 6, II (1863), 216-271. Bianchi died in 1864, and another French diplomat, François Alphonse Belin, carried on his work in the *Journal asiatique* in another series of articles, of which the first carried the title "Bibliographie ottomane, ou notice des livres turcs imprimés à Constantinople durant les années 1281, 1282 et 1283 de l'Hégire," ser. 6, XI (1868), 465-491, with supplements under appropriately changed titles carrying the bibliography as far as H. 1290-1293 (1873-1876), *viz.*, ser. 6, XIV (1869), 65-95; ser. 6, XVIII (1871), 125-157; ser. 7, I (1873), 522-563; and ser. 7, IX (1877), 122-146. Belin died in 1877, and the French orientalist Clément Huart assumed responsibility for the bibliography in a series of articles entitled "Bibliographie ottomane; notice des livres turcs, arabes et persans imprimés à Constantinople durant la période 1294-1296 de l'Hégire (1877-1879)," ser. 7, XVI (1880), 411-439, with supplements under appropriately changed titles carrying the bibliography as far as H. 1306/07 (1889/90), *viz.*, ser. 7, XIX (1882), 164-207; ser. 8, V (1885), 229-268, 415-463; ser. 8, IX (1887), 350-414; ser. 8, XIII (1889), 428-489; ser. 8, XVII (1891), 375-410.

Although the *Journal asiatique* no longer continued this important series after 1891, there is a bibliography of Turkish books published during part of the reign of Abdülhamit II (1876-1909) by Mehmet Murat, *Devri Hamidî Asar* (İstanbul, Osmaniye Matbaası, 1890), but it adds little to the compilations of Belin and Huart. In part the disturbed political conditions were responsible for the serious hiatus in Turkish bibliography from 1890 to 1928, at which time the government of Atatürk and his Republican People's Party began to become definitely effective. From that date we have the *Türkiye Bibliyografyası*. There is a decennial cumulation from 1928 to 1938 which facilitates its use considerably. Both gov-

ernment documents and commercial publications are included. The arrangement of each issue (quarterly) is by an adaptation of the decimal classification, and there are annual author and printer indexes. Unfortunately, there are no annual or cumulative subject indexes. It is significant to note that one of the changes in the bibliography contemplated by the National Library is the publication of annotations in English.

No note on Turkish bibliography of today would be complete unless it included the important catalogues of materials in the University of İstanbul General Library being compiled by the librarian, Fehmi Edhem Karatay. Along with the Süleymaniye and the Topkapı Sarayı, this is perhaps the richest manuscript library in İstanbul, and its collection of Turkish "incunabula" is well-nigh complete. Likewise, it is unusually rich in printed as well as manuscript books in Arabic and Persian. Most of the significant materials came from the library of Abdülhamit II in the Yıldız Köşkü, the sultan's place behind Beşiktaş and Ortaköy in İstanbul-Beyoğlu. The first of these catalogues was published with Ivan Stchoukine under the title of *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul* (Paris, Boccard, 1933; "Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul," I). In 1949 he issued a catalogue of the Persian printed books under the title of *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Basmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1949; "İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları," 414). In 1951 he began to publish catalogues of Arabic printed books and manuscripts in the library, of which the first fascicle of each has appeared. The Arabic printed books are in a catalogue entitled *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu* (İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1951-), and the Arabic manuscripts are in a catalogue entitled *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1951-). The latter is particularly important on account of the plates at the end of the first fascicle.

As a final note on Turkish bibliography of today, it is necessary to note an orphan which might possibly fail to find inclusion in any other list. The library of the Greek Patriarchate at Fener on the Golden Horn is engaged at present in detailed cataloguing of its 1,012 manuscripts, the oldest of which goes back to the seventh century. Some are handsomely illuminated, although most of them are religious in character. The catalogue is being printed currently in the Patriarchate's quarterly *Ὁρθοδοξία*, and it will be issued as a separate when it is complete.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

University of Kentucky

Texts and Pretexts

The only inference to be drawn from the evidence presented below is that even our own day is occasionally witness to editorial ineptitude cloaked in the guise of scholarship. These are the exhibits:

1. An extract from a circular distributed in January, 1951, by the publisher of the "Rinehart Editions," a series of texts now in use in more than 500 colleges:

It is gratifying to know that this . . . series offers the latest edition to be checked and approved by the author during his lifetime, the most accurate and faithful translation, and precise identification of the texts employed.

2. In conformity with this policy, a statement by the editor of *Humphry Clinker*, one of the texts in the series:

With very slight changes to make spelling, capitalization, and punctuation more uniform, this text is based on that of the first London edition of 1771.

3. An account of his performance, as revealed by a random collation of the several editions¹ with the present reprint:²

<i>A, B, and C (all 1771)</i>	<i>D (1772)</i>	<i>Rinehart (1950)</i>
I.v Aug. 4	Aug. 14	xxv Aug. 14
69 should never	shall never	38 shall never
72 members:	members;	40 members;
II.5 steams	streams	136 streams
7 it dies	he dies	138 he dies
11 A: nuisances	nusance	140 nuisance
BC: nusances		
228 Lord nows	Lord knows	256 Lord knows
228 menchioned	mentioned	256 mentioned

Despite his assertion, it would appear that the Rinehart editor habitually consulted—or consistently followed—edition D, the last and least reliable of the three posthumous reprints, and thus supplies readings not appropriate to context or (as with the two cited from II.228) quite beyond the capacity of Smollett's illiterate correspondent.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Salem College

¹ To facilitate reference I disregard my own account (in *Studies in Bibliography*, IV [1951-52], 50 f.) and identify the editions by the symbols used in Franklin B. Newman's description, PAPERS, XLIV (1950), 342-45. As a full collation would indicate, edition C derives from B, B and D from A.

² Tobias Smollett [1721-1771]. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Edited with an introduction by Robert Gorham Davis. New York, Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1950. (Rinehart editions, 48.)

A Reply

Though the situation is more complicated than Professor Todd's note suggests, it is quite true that the text is open to scholarly criticism, and that the rebuke is merited. I am glad that bibliographers are turning their attention to the inexpensive reprints. It ought to raise standards.

ROBERT G. DAVIS

Smith College

*A Finding List of Manuscript Materials Relating to
George Edward Woodberry*

The number of letters to and from Woodberry that have survived is impressive. All but half a dozen of the remaining letter series from him are now on file in the permanent collections of major libraries. Only two of the series still in private hands are not available for consultation, and one of these will be as soon as physical arrangements for unpacking and filing can be completed. The leading collection of letters from Woodberry is held by the Columbia University Libraries. This collection owes its fullness chiefly to a systematic search carried out since 1946 under the sponsorship of Mr. Milton Halsey Thomas, Curator of Columbiana. The Harvard University Library also has a large number of letters from Woodberry, and in addition it has the great majority of existing letters to him, which were left to Harvard under a provision in his will.

The following lists include the names of all the correspondents to whom letters from Woodberry still exist and indicate where the letters are now kept.

*I. Letters Held by Libraries**

To Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Mrs. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Harvard University Library; Charles H. Barrows, Columbia University Libraries (c); Henry A. Beers, Yale University Library; Lewis Sherrill Bigelow, Columbia (c); Mrs. Mary Sullivan Brown, Harvard; Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia (a); Mr. Melville Cane, (c); George Rice Carpenter, (b); Madison Cawein, (b), Harvard; Frank W. Chandler, Harvard; Mrs. Helen Harwood Chase, Columbia (c); Lewis Nathaniel Chase, Harvard; Professor George H. Danton, Oberlin College Library; Hon. Lewis Einstein, Charles W. Eliot, Harvard; John

* Letters held by the Columbia University Libraries are classified as follows: (a) in University archives; (b) in Special Collections, University Libraries; (c) in Columbiana Collection, University Libraries.

Erskine, Columbia (c); Mrs. Annie C. Fields, Harvard; Norman Foerster, Columbia (c); Wendell Phillips Garrison, Library of Congress; Mrs. C. H. Gere, Columbia (c); Richard Watson Gilder, New York Public Library, Harvard; Edwin L. Godkin, Dr. Ferris Greenslet, Harvard; Mr. Edward Woodberry Harrison, Columbia (c); Professor John S. Harrison, (c); Edwin B. Hill, Huntington Library; Robert Hillyer, New York Public; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Harvard; Mrs. Ellen Parmele Hutchinson, Woodson K. Hutchinson, Mr. Oliver Jenkins, Columbia (c); Sarah Orne Jewett, Harvard; Robert Underwood Johnson, New York Public; Professor Charles W. Kennedy, Princeton University Library; Louis V. Ledoux, Harvard; Russell H. Loines, Columbia (c); T. R. Lounsbury, Yale; Seth Low, Columbia (c); James Russell Lowell, Professor Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Winthrop N. Maloon, Harvard; Brander Matthews, Columbia (b); E. B. Mitchell, (c); Charles Eliot Norton, Harvard; Allen W. Olmsted, Jacob W. Olmsted, John B. Olmsted, Mrs. John B. Olmsted, Columbia (c); Walter Hines Page, (b); Mrs. Stephen Pound, Professor F. C. Prescott, Harvard; Jessie B. Rittenhouse, Rollins College Library; Edwin Arlington Robinson, Harvard; Clinton Scollard, Rollins; Mr. James N. Rosenberg, Columbia (c); Horace E. Scudder, Harvard; Samuel S. Seward, Mrs. Amy Spingarn, Mr. E. D. W. Spingarn, Joel Elias Spingarn, Columbia (c); Edmund Clarence Stedman, (b), Yale, Harvard; Stone and Kimball, Huntington Library; Lindsay Swift, Columbia (c), Harvard; Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve University Library; Mrs. Edith Nichols Underhill, University of Buffalo Library; Henry van Dyke, Princeton; Charles Dudley Warner, The Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.; H. Jackson Warner, Columbia (c); James H. Whitty, Duke University Library; Caroline Woodberry, Columbia (c).

II. *Letters Held by Individuals*

To Henry Johnson (Mrs. Stanley Chase, Brunswick, Me.); Mr. Harry Harkness Flagler (Mr. Flagler);¹ Mr. George S. Hellman (Mr. Hellman); Mr. John Pierce Langs (Mr. Langs); Mr. Arthur A. Marsters (Mr. Marsters); Mr. John S. Mayfield and others (Mr. Mayfield);² Hon. Joseph M. Proskauer (Judge Proskauer); Mr. James N. Rosenberg (Mr. Rosenberg); Henry Osborn Taylor (Judge Proskauer);³ Professor Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Professor Wilkins).

III. *Lost Letters*

A very large number of letters from Woodberry have disappeared. Many of these letters were in correspondences which were kept intact for

¹ Not available for consultation.

² Not available until sorted and classified.

³ Manuscripts of these letters have been lost. Only typed copies are in this collection, which clearly includes only a small fragment of the Woodberry-Taylor correspondence.

years, sometimes until after the death of the correspondent. The *Selected Letters of George Edward Woodberry* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1933) shows that some very important lost correspondences were still in existence at that date.

The following list of lost correspondences includes those which appear to have been the most important. While some are certainly destroyed, others have disappeared under circumstances that leave some hope that they may yet be found. Some of these are also included in List I, because a few letters from them have been preserved as indicated on that list.

William Aspenwall Bradley, Ernest Bross, Irving Brown, James Byrne, Aubrey de Vere, Edwin Emerson, Bernard M. L. Ernst, Henry T. Finck, Wendell Phillips Garrison, Richard Watson Gilder, Dr. Ferris Greenslet, Nathan S. Harwood, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, A. V. Williams Jackson, George Sawyer Kellogg, Battell Loomis, J. H. McDaniels, Albert Mordell, Meredith Nicholson, Allen W. Olmsted, John B. Olmsted, Oliver Olmsted, Lindsay Swift, W. B. Symmes, Henry Osborn Taylor, John Garrett Underhill, Harold Wheeler, Caroline Woodberry, Charles Woodberry, Henry Elliott Woodberry, Sarah Tuck Woodberry, Hans Zinsser.

IV. *Manuscripts*

Manuscripts of Woodberry's writings are scarce. The Harvard University Library has the manuscript of "The Roamer." The Ledoux collection in the Columbiana Collection of the Columbia University Libraries has manuscripts of a few lyrics, including that of "Wild Eden." The same collection also includes typed copies of a number of unpublished lyrics and translations. The manuscripts of these poems have not been found. Ledoux's work on Woodberry's bibliography is so uniformly reliable, and the evidence of Woodberry's personal interest in the accuracy of Ledoux's studies is so plentiful, that there is no reason to doubt that the texts of these poems are correct. The manuscript of Woodberry's introduction to *The Poems of Rupert Brooke* is also in the Columbiana Collection.

Woodberry's travel diaries, kept during his trips to the Mediterranean in 1905-1906 and in 1908, are in the Columbiana Collection in the Columbia University Libraries. This collection also has a very full set of longhand lecture notes taken by Lewis Sherrill Bigelow during Woodberry's lectures at Columbia for several years. It also has some of the remaining papers of the Woodberry Society.

Both the Columbiana Collection and the Harvard University Library have extensive files of press clippings about Woodberry. Other important

clipping files are held by Mr. Harry Harkness Flagler and Mrs. Amy B. Woodberry.

The Harvard University Library has thousands of letters to Woodberry from nearly three hundred correspondents. Mrs. Amy B. Woodberry, of Beverly, has the complete series of letters to Woodberry from the late Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. Two letters to Woodberry are in the Library of Congress.

In the collection of Mr. John S. Mayfield are: original manuscript copy of "Forebodings," first poem written by Woodberry after entering Harvard as a student, and original manuscript note regarding the verses which appeared in the first separate privately printed edition of the poem, 1927; typed copy of note with autograph changes by Woodberry; original manuscript copy of two stanzas of "Forebodings" written for J. H. Edge, London, with correspondence to and from Mr. Edge; original manuscript copy of stanza beginning "If love within thee surely wake," written for Gerard Roberts; original manuscript of "An Introductory Note" to Mr. Mayfield's *Sidney Lanier in Texas*, 1932, the last piece of composition before his death; and the originals of Mr. Mayfield's letters to Woodberry.

JOSEPH DOYLE

Mountainville, Orange County, N. Y.

Book Reviews

Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume Four, 1951-1952. Charlottesville, Virginia, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1951. Boards. 237 pp. 10 x 6½ inches. \$6.00; \$4.50 to Subscribing Members.

This fourth volume equals the earlier volumes in richness and variety. Here are, to suggest a few, articles or notes on editorial choice, variant issues and reprinted sheets, watermarks, pirated editions, American power presses, prompt copies, unidentified periodical contributions, Vergilian commentaries, Chaucer MSS, Milton's handwriting, and bibliographical history. The range suggests unusual editorial receptiveness; a possible danger of widening the scope from practical and theoretical bibliographical analysis is some lowering of quality and the loss of the journal's distinctive value among many competitive journals of literary scholarship.

The annual Check List of Bibliographical Scholarship, inaugurated in the third volume, is continued by Messrs. Hirsch and Heaney.¹ This will take its place beside the established period bibliographies, and like them will provide the most convenient annual survey of scholarship in the field.

Perhaps the articles of most general interest, with broader applications to bibliographical theory, are three. Professor G. I. Duthie brings to the editing of *Romeo and Juliet*, in a paper prepared for the English Institute at Columbia University in 1950, his bibliographical insight and the bibliographical eclecticism and ingenuity he has learned from his distinguished teacher, Professor Dover Wilson. Twenty-five years ago the New Bibliography seemed to offer the editor a quick escape from all his troubles: instead of having to consider the first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) an early stage of Shakespeare's authentic text and the second quarto (1599) a considerably revised text by the author—the prevailing view as late as 1935—an editor who comprehended bibliographical methodology could now concentrate on the second quarto as the only authentic text, while recognizing that the reported text of 1597 might occasionally help

¹Part I: Incunabula and Early Renaissance by Rudolf Hirsch. Part II: Later Renaissance to the Present by Howell J. Heaney. (Both for the year 1950.) *Editor*.

to resolve a printer's error. But now Professor Duthie finds that in the second quarto, although it was largely printed from a transcript of Shakespeare's MS, some 160 lines in Act I were certainly set up from a copy of the first quarto, and then the compositor returned to his MS when he found the printed text unsatisfactory; that the composite reported MS source for the first quarto had embedded in it the original actor's part for the Nurse, written in an Italian hand; that, on the evidence of eight lines in Act II and ten lines in Act III, we may believe three later leaves (two from this evidence and one by analogy) to be printed from the first quarto, somewhat corrected by comparison with the acting MS; that other passages are set from MS, corrected sometimes by a glance at the first quarto. Hence, for 160 lines in Act I only the first quarto is a substantive text; "lazy-puffing clouds" (II, ii) of the second quarto is to be rejected as a scribal corruption produced by faulty memory, although the passage was printed from a corrected leaf of the first quarto. Put more categorically, this means that the first quarto may be preferred for certain readings; that if both quartos agree, emendation may be urged on the ground of corruption; and finally that when the second quarto has been *corrected* by the scribe from the first quarto, we may reject the correction as a memorial corruption. Emendation on such principles is dangerous: it demands exceedingly delicate critical taste and easily encourages over-zealous emendation, and yet I think Professor Duthie may produce a better text of *Romeo and Juliet*. Clearly, the New Bibliography offers the editor no final escape from his troubles.

Professor William B. Todd, in another paper prepared for the English Institute on editorial problems, continues to prove that press figures and textual analysis can identify an astonishing quantity of undifferentiated editions and impressions of eighteenth-century pamphlets. A generation proud of its new bibliographical skill is shown how much clear evidence has been overlooked. This paper also demonstrates the need to study multiple copies for evidence of reprinting.² His argument is closely reasoned, but his method is clearly demonstrated by carefully chosen examples; it is difficult to follow largely because he has to leap from a brief mention of the example to his conclusion, without allowing the reader opportunity to gather up all the evidence.

Professor Allan H. Stevenson, in a striking study called "Watermarks are Twins," traces with skill, learning, and persistence the evidence for

² See also William B. Todd, "Concurrent Printing: An Analysis of Dodsley's 'Collection of Poems by Several Hands'," in: *PAPERS*, 46 (1952), 45-57. *Editor*.

the normal making of paper with pairs of nearly identical moulds, and then illustrates the results from numerous paper specimens. (The excellently selected photographs make the argument easier to comprehend.) This phenomenon, known to Briquet and others but usually completely overlooked by bibliographers, may prove to be an invaluable supplementary tool. With this knowledge a careful observer may make estimates of paper supply and size of edition, or he may find the one link needed to prove that a book was printed by half-sheet imposition.

At least a brief index to such a volume would be a scholarly convenience. And although the paper is luxurious, its untrimmed edges are an annoyance in an important work of reference. This volume is the first in the series to be bound in paper-covered boards.

A. T. HAZEN

Columbia University

TAYLOR, ARCHER, and FREDERIC J. MOSHER. *The Bibliographical History of Anonyma and Pseudonyma*. Chicago, Published for the Newberry Library by the University of Chicago Press, 1951. Frontispiece, ix, 288 pp. 9 x 5¾ inches. \$12.50.

This is a most useful book. The authors have ransacked history to good advantage. Chapter headings are: Homonyms, Latinized Names (a disappointing treatment), Pseudepigrapha, Anonyma and Pseudonyma, Confusing Titles and Fictitious Facts of Publication, Bibliography of Anonyma and Pseudonyma, A Classified Guide to Dictionaries; and there is a good index. Of these the bibliography will be the most useful. The chapter on pseudepigraphy is perhaps an intrusion into the main theme of the book, justified by the notion of completeness, but it cannot be regarded on a par with the others.

Another useful feature of the book is the location of titles cited. No one can be baffled by not knowing where a book is located.* Apparently the authors have worked mainly in Chicago, though the inclusion of New York titles leads to a suspicion that the authors have worked there as well. The citations of the Library of Congress testify to the wide distribution of its catalogue cards, but otherwise mean nothing; but the inclusion of the Catholic University does.

The most useful feature of the book is its bibliography, which is ex-

* "We have adopted the abbreviations for the names of libraries from the *Union List of Serials*" (p. 207). There is, however, no key to these abbreviations in the book itself. *Editor*.

tensive. Apparently few works have escaped the search for titles. The author of this review does not know of one. Anyone who has a majority of the works cited is fortunate.

The subject of anonymity and pseudonymy is apparently exhausted.

W. W. BISHOP

COLLISON, ROBERT L. *Bibliographies: Subject and National. A Guide to Their Contents, Arrangement and Use*. Foreword by Lawrence C. Powell. New York, Hafner Publishing Company, 1951. (British Edition: Foreword by F. L. Kent. London, Crosby Lockwood & Son Ltd., 1951. 18s.) xii, 172 pp. 8½ x 5½ inches. \$3.00.

When a librarian writes of "the sheer delight occasioned by a well-constructed bibliography," his product is certain to have given him pleasure in its compilation. And if his compilation is set down in readable style, in addition to its being highly satisfactory within its own limits, a student using it cannot fail to be grateful. Robert L. Collison's *Bibliographies: Subject and National* is such a book: a bibliography of bibliographies in narrative form, giving brief descriptions of the scope and arrangement, as well as full bibliographical data, of 671 items. He also refers to supplements, continuations, indexes, abstracts, catalogues of special collections, and encyclopedias containing bibliographical data.

Part I, Subject Bibliographies (pp. 8-145), surveys in nine chapters roughly following the order of the Dewey classification (without the numbers) the nine broad divisions of knowledge. Subdivided into specialized paragraphs, these chapters vary in length from 5 pages on authorship, book-production, and librarianship to 35 pages on language and literature, where bibliographies of 108 English and American authors are listed. Part II, Universal and National Bibliographies (pp. 146-168), contains three less detailed chapters citing outstanding older works and some more recent but not yet familiar. Eight charts arranged in genealogical tree fashion show at a glance lists for various branches of each major subject. F. L. Kent, UNESCO librarian, contributes a brief foreword to the British edition; UCLA librarian Lawrence C. Powell writes that for the American edition. Otherwise the London and New York volumes are similar. Unfortunately, the index is limited to subjects, probably because of space.

The author, Reference Librarian of the City of Westminster, wrote the book to guide librarians generally on the sources of bibliographies and

their contents, and to help students preparing for Library Association examinations. Also Mr. Collison will now cause librarians to check their bibliographical collections against his chapters. Thus *Bibliographies: Subject and National* is likely to become a worth-while and useful standard work.

As Mr. Collison admits, his task was to keep the number of books within limits, and evidence of his practical knowledge of the works he describes is that there are no outstanding omissions. But although no two compilers could agree on what such a volume should include, some will regret that Germany is not in the chapter on national bibliographies. American literature specialists would wish he had included Millett's *Contemporary American Authors*, Lewis A. Leary's *Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 1920-1945*, and Volume III of the *Literary History of the United States*. Others may miss the *Book Review Digest*, and one could argue that the annual period compilations in *Philological Quarterly*, *Modern Philology*, and *Studies in Philology* are more useful than, for example, a bibliography of Walter Crane. Such cavilling, however, is no more important than noting the few misstatements about the British Museum *General Catalogue's* Biblical Appendix (p. 23), the U. S. Surgeon-General's *Index-Catalogue* Series IV (p. 70), and M. H. R. A.'s annual bibliography (p. 104) which has been completed only to 1942.

A serious flaw is that Mr. Collison has preferred to be descriptive—sometimes merely repeating the title in alternate readings—when he should have been critical and stated when a bibliography was out-of-date or biased. The greatest harm that can come from this misguided attempt to be fair is seen in his treatment of T. J. Wise, whose *Ashley Library* he lists (p. 103), and 13 of his author-bibliographies. He calls him an "authority on nineteenth-century literature" without once hinting at the incalculable harm done by Wise's cynical perversion of bibliographical truth.

Yet this handsomely produced book is nonetheless easy to use and pleasant to read, from the opening quotation by the late Tom Peete Cross to the final statement from Lord Passfield (who approved of scribbling in margins): "I stoutly maintain that every orderly arranged bibliography, however incomplete, will be of use to somebody." Mr. Collison's *Bibliographies: Subject and National* will surely be of use to many, and for a long time to come.

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne University

TOUSSAINT, A. *Early Printing in the Mascarene Islands, 1767-1810*. Paris, G. Durassié et cie; London, University of London Press; New York, Stechert-Hafner, Inc., [1951]. 165 pp. 7 plates. 9¼ x 7¼ inches. Paper. \$3.50.

On Mauritius in the south Indian Ocean, printing was introduced under the French rule in 1767. M. Toussaint, archivist of the British colony of Mauritius, has produced a carefully documented account of the progress of printing there (then known as the Isle de France) until it came under the British rule in 1810. Between 1767 and 1810, the various presses produced ten newspapers, twenty-seven almanacs which are fully described in an appendix, a variety of official publications including law collections, broadsides, pamphlets and paper money, as well as a number of books and pamphlets, scientific, literary, religious and political. A chapter is also devoted to the much more limited development of printing on Réunion, the other principal Mascarene Island, then known as Bourbon, beginning in 1792. With two good harbors, Mauritius became a main trading center on the route to India from Europe and North America, while Réunion, even though larger in area, had no natural harbor and was limited to agricultural development. Toussaint, who prepared the work originally as a doctoral thesis at the University of London, has utilized fully the sources on both Mauritius and Réunion as well as the libraries and archives in London and Paris. Eventual publication of a bibliography of the Mascarene imprints, many of which seem to have been widely dispersed, possibly beyond recovery, would be awaited with interest. The initial chapter summarizing the spread of printing in the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean, in the Far East, and in the French colonies of the New World points the way to the need for further carefully documented studies on the origins and problems of colonial printing.

JAMES B. CHILDS

Library of Congress

POWELL, LAWRENCE CLARK. *Islands of Books*. Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1951. iii pp. 8 x 4½ inches. Boards. \$4.00.

Lawrence Clark Powell is a gifted writer, and one who can communicate his own enthusiasm for the books he likes best. His essays are devoted to his reading, but they are given a subtle overtone through his sense of the time and the place when a book became a part of his life.

The essays have been collected from *Hoja Volante* (the quarterly of the

Zamorano Club) and the *California Library Bulletin*. The essay on Casanova, probably the most substantial in the volume, was first printed separately by Grant Dahlstrom. Together, they make a record of explorations and discoveries in reading.

Powell's approach to literature is very personal, he wisely admits, and his method unsystematic. It is, essentially, a quest "to find those works whose vision merges with mine." He writes appreciatively of the writers who have rewarded this quest: Robinson Jeffers and D. H. Lawrence, Rabelais and Joyce, Melville and Llewelyn Powys. He also finds less well-known writers who speak to his condition, particularly among those who have been able to summon up the spirit of the land where he now lives: the coast, the mountains, and valleys of California.

It is not necessary that one share Mr. Powell's feeling for these particular writers, however craftily he may fish for readers with his favorite books as bait. His main point, or so it seems to me, is in his *attitude* toward reading. He would have us recognize books as a major experience. Those which establish a sense of identification in a reader are, forever after, a part of the mainstream of that reader's life.

GERALD D. McDONALD

New York Public Library

HARGRETT, LESTER. *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1890*. New York, Published for The Bibliographical Society of America, R. R. Bowker Company, 1951. xvii, 267 pp. 9 x 6 inches. \$7.50. Edition of 500 copies.

The execution of the Federal Indian removal legislation of 1830 by President Jackson provided the genesis of Oklahoma. It established the Indian character which was for so long a dominant characteristic of the population. It set the pattern for the complex history of the state.

Removal of the Indian tribes from the southern states was accompanied by the introduction of the printing art into Oklahoma. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions saw in the printing press an instrument for the education of the children of the natives and a voice to win the salvation of their souls. The Board supported the printing of books, tracts, and translations at the Union Mission, Park Hill and the Cherokee Baptist Mission. Similar printing in later years was done elsewhere in the Indian Territory under other auspices. The Cherokees learned to read and write following an almost total tribal mastery of the syllabary devised by Sequoyah. They printed their own newspaper, briefs

for their congressional delegations, messages of their principal chiefs. The other tribes then so recently transplanted to the new lands in the West learned the printing art, and they promptly bent it to their immediate purpose of informing the people of tribal business. Some strictly commercial printing was done in the Indian country throughout the tribal period.

The Civil War brought to the Indian frontier several military presses from which there was a considerable output of routine official orders. Departmental presses were carried into western Oklahoma during the plains Indian hostilities of the 1870's, and they were there off and on until as late as the 1890's, when troops were required to keep order during the turbulent Oklahoma openings. From these military presses partisan appeals and some military manuals of more than passing interest issued. The settlement of villages and towns in a single day in 1889 brought presses capable of torrents of printing. The cradle period of publishing in Oklahoma was definitely over the following year. It is with this early period extending from 1835 to 1890 that the present bibliography is concerned.

In these five decades before the opening of the Oklahoma lands in 1889, when the long-held notion of an isolated Indian frontier west of Arkansas proved unrealistic, 795 imprints are known to have issued from the various presses. Of this number 102 titles were reported by reliable sources, but copies of them were not available for examination in public repositories or in private collections. Of the remaining 695 titles described here, about two-thirds (450) are identified by Mr. Hargrett for the first time in any list. This fact should leave no doubt that the bibliographical control of Oklahoma imprints has been immeasurably strengthened by the appearance of this handsome volume. Three hundred and eighty-five titles have been described from a single known copy. From this fact a reviewer must conclude that the location of these highly fugitive and ephemeral Oklahoma materials was a very time-consuming task and one fashioned for the most painstaking and meticulous specialist. Mr. Hargrett is all of that, a competent match for such a challenge. He gave his self-appointed task his intense enthusiasm for several years, combing the principal libraries thoroughly and extending his searches to private collections with rewarding results.

This reader, speaking for himself but voicing the sentiments of other students of state bibliography, would welcome an essay by Mr. Hargrett on the flight of Oklahoma imprints. How is it that librarians and bibliographers of eastern repositories pursued the works which issued from the presses in the distant Indian country and harbored them against the rav-

ages of time, while near the printing offices these fine items all too often were uncollected and unappreciated? The tribes made no special provision for the preservation of their culture after statehood came. Precious little in bulk was passed on by the tribal governments. A few individual families have generously transmitted to posterity their holdings of imprints and archives, but little of this has remained in Oklahoma. Mr. Hargrett has pursued these materials wherever the path has led. Whether in an official or in a private capacity, he has saved from destruction much documentation for present use and for posterity. If any living individual not of Indian blood knows all the psychological and practical reasons for the flight of Oklahoma imprints, Mr. Hargrett is the one who could give them. And his reply would be a fitting sequel to this bibliography.

No expense has been too great, no pains have been spared by the bibliographer in completing his researches. A wealth of detail of a biographical nature and incidental data on many institutions obscured now by time are available here for the first time. Annotations, enriched by the compiler's active humor, make this bibliography good reading besides. This study is further enhanced by a summary of Oklahoma printing by years, a special index of printing places, printing presses, and printers, and a chronology of printing in Oklahoma.

All too little encouragement is given bibliographers who undertake long, costly projects such as the present study. Mr. Hargrett has done a careful job. The Bibliographical Society of America stepped forward and made publication possible when no publisher in Oklahoma could find it either profitable or patriotic to print this manuscript, and the Society is to be congratulated. The happy arrangement which the Society made with the Library of Congress, the Newberry Library and with the R. R. Bowker Company makes possible this enrichment of the national bibliographies. Students of printing, local history, Indian civilization, and frontier conditions will find this a handy reference work.

GASTON LITTON

University of Oklahoma

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233)

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(Signed) JEAN N. WESTON, *Permanent Secretary.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1951.

(Signed) ELWOOD C. KASTNER, *Notary Public.*

[SEAL]

(My commission expires March 30, 1953.)